National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

NL-339 (r. 88/04)

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FROM THE HISTORICAL PORTRAIT
IN WAVERLEY
TO THE HISTORICAL VISION
IN LE ROI DES AULNES AND GRAVITY'S RAINBOW:
A THEORETICAL STUDY

©

BY

MARINA ALLEMANO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1988

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-42752-3

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Marina Allemano

TITLE OF THESIS: From the Historical Portait in Waverley to the Historical Vision in Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity's Rainbow: A Theoretical Study.

DEGREE: Ph.D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1988

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

...Marina Allemano..............

(student's signature)

155 Ridgewood Terrace
St. Albert, Alberta, T8N 0E9

(student's permanent address)

DATE: 26 April 1988

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled

From the Historical Portrait in Waverley to the Historical Vision in Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity's Rainbow: A Theoretical Study

submitted by **Marina Allemano**

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Milan V. Dimic
....
(supervisor)

Patricia Merivale
....

W J Watson
....

A.G. Purdy
....

....

Date: 8 April 1988

ABSTRACT

The subject of this dissertation is not the historical novel as a genre, but rather fictional narratives dominated by historical references. The primary object has been to establish a typology that distinguishes the contemporary self-referential model from the 'classical' nineteenth-century model--or the so-called vision from the portrait. While one of the underlying principles of the typology adheres to Hegel's philosophy of historical knowledge, the opposition between the out-referential and the self-referential narratives is based on a distinction between epistemological and ontological queries.

Chapter I deals with the theoretical aspects of the triadic problem of history-fiction-truth as perceived by some of the early historical novelists, Arnim, Scott, Vigny, Cooper, Mérimée, and Manzoni. Following narratological and semiotic theories devised by Gérard Genette, Seymour Chatman, and Roland Barthes, we analyse in chapter II Scott's Waverley (1814) and describe the formal techniques used to separate story from hi/story. In the third chapter (and the appendix), we survey and group existing critical material according to three different approaches to the hybrid genre: the panoramic, the normative, and the modal classification systems.

Chapters IV and V focus on specific aspects of predominantly self-referential fiction that, because of the

centripetal/centrifugal structure, undercut any sense of historical depth. Despite an abundance of historically accurate references in both Tournier's Le Roi des Aulnes (1970) and Pynchon's Gravity's Rainbow (1973), the references serve mainly as a means to establish the presence of the texts; and it is only in the final act of uniting the sign with the referent that the narratives can be described as historical visions.

While the narrator's self-consciousness in Waverley contributes to the formation of an analogical 'portrait' of history, the self-referentiality in the contemporary texts emphasizes the concreteness--or the 'being there'--of historical events.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Upon completion of my dissertation, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Milan V. Dimic for his guidance and supervision.

I would also like to thank the University of Alberta and the Province of Alberta for providing scholarships.

Special thanks go to my fellow students Karin Kondratzky and Stan Beeler for having typed and formatted the thesis and to my family for their support, patience, and great sense of humor during trying times.

Table of Contents

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AS A PORTRAIT: THE HISTORICIST CONTEXT 4

1. The Portrait of Sir Walter Scott, A.D. 1826 4

2. The Historical Novel as a Portrait: From Arnim to Manzoni 8

CHAPTER II

HISTORY, STORY AND DISCOURSE IN WAVERLEY: A FORMAL APPROACH 40

1. History and Text as Process 40

2. Historical References (Definitions) 46

3. Story 50

  3.1 Existents 51

    3.11 Milieu 53

    3.12 Setting 63

    3.13 Characters 69

  3.2 Events 74

    3.21 Causality, Kernels, and Satellites 75

    3.22 The Romance and the Hi/story 77

4. Narrative Discourse: *Waverley* as Self-conscious Narrative 84

5. Narrative Act: Author-Text-Reader Relationship 95

6. Summary: Portrayal Redefined 98

CHAPTER III

DEFINITIONS OF THE HISTORICAL NOVEL 105

1. The Panoramic, the Normative, and the Modal Approaches 105

2. Factual and Pseudo-Factual Modes (Barbara Foley) 110

3. The Original, Reflective, and Philosophical Modes (Joseph W. Turner) 113

CHAPTER IV

VISIONS AND HISTORY: THE POSTMODERNIST CONTEXT 124

1. Visions and History 124

2. Self-referentiality and Ontological Vertigo 131

3. Text as a Structural Whole and as a Thing in Itself 136

    3.1 Structures 136

    3.2 Self-duplication, Replication, and Differentiation 138

    3.3 Different Con/texts and Incongruous Worlds 143

4. Transformations and Change 145

5. Self-regulation 150

6. Apocalyptic and Entropic Structures 152

7. The Mandala and Trans-Historical Consciousness 157

8. Synchrony and Synchronicity 160

CHAPTER V

LE ROI DES AULNES AND *GRAVITY'S RAINBOW* 172

Part 1. 172

1.1 Introducing *Gravity's Rainbow* and *Le Roi des Aulnes* 172

1.2 Story, History, and *Bricolage* 180

1.3 Elusive and Historical Characters 187

Part 2. 197

2.1 The Extra-textual Code: References to History and Other Texts 199

2.2 References to Texts as Closed Systems and Structures 202

2.3 References to Texts as Games, as Things Possessed, and to Writing as an Act of Possessing 213

2.4 References to Texts as Differential Entities 222

2.5 References to Texts as Semiotic Entities 225

2.6 References to Texts as Media 230

2.7 The Sacrifice: References to the Act of Uniting Sign With Referent 235

CONCLUSION 245

BIBLIOGRAPHY 253

APPENDIX

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL STATEMENTS ON THE HISTORICAL NOVEL 272

Category 1: The Panoramic Method 272

1.1 A Minimal Definition (Helen Cam) 272

1.2 A Broad Socio-economic Approach (Gilles Nélod) 277

1.3 A Progressive, Viconian Definition (Harry B. Henderson III) 280

Category 2: The Normative Approach 284

2.1 A Moral Approach (Louis Maigron) 284

2.2 A Historicist/Poetic Norm (Herbert Butterfield) 290

2.3 The Marxist Definition (George Lukács) 295

2.4 The Critical, Academic Criterion (Lion Feuchtwanger) 303

2.5 A Philosophical Approach (Avrom Fleishman) 308

2.6 A Formal/Dialectical Definition (Harry E. Shaw) 311

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart	Description	Page
1	Narrative Modes in Fiction Concerning History	122
2	Development of the Historical Novel: Lukács' Model	316

INTRODUCTION

The phenomena of international cultural movements that within a very short time spread like wildfire make a fascinating study for literary historians. Consider two such trends in particular; the Romantic historical novel in the early nineteenth century, and Postmodernist fiction in the second half of the twentieth century. While it is difficult to locate and fully explain the origins of the phenomena, it is entirely possible to describe the symptoms when the conditions become familiar sights and cover large territories. In this study, we have chosen the more concrete of the two tasks.

Despite the twofold structure of the dissertation--one part centering on early historical novels (chapters I and II) and the other part concerning self-referential narratives (chapters IV and V)--the topic is not literary history *per se*, but a typology of narratives dealing with historical subject matter as outlined in chapter III (and in the Appendix).

While many studies have been done on individual writers of historical fiction as well as on particular works, surprisingly few have been written on the genre from a theoretical point of view. From our background research, which covered not only critical material obtained manually through cross-references, but also material found in a MLAcomputer search of titles pertaining to historical fiction (435 items in five languages), we discovered fewer than two dozen studies that were strictly theoretical.

Chart 1 at the end of chapter III is not entirely original, as the summaries of definitions will testify, but its composition is the result of research that has included as many categories as possible. As should be apparent, the primary principle ~~of~~ classification is not whether a narrative contains historical references or not, but whether it is predominantly out-referential or self-referential.

While five of the sub-categories *fit* neatly into a coherent typology, the sixth or so-called apocalyptic mode is the odd man out. One critic suggests that this category is literally apocalyptic and portrays the grim aspects of history (Appendix 1.3); another that it resembles pseudofactual narratives as opposed to factual narratives (chapter III, 2); and a third critic perceives the fictional self-consciousness as comparable to the historical self-consciousness in texts of the philosophical mode (chapter III, 3). From our analyses of works in the self-referential mode in general and *Le Roi des Aulnes* and *Gravity's Rainbow* in particular, it is our conclusion that highly self-conscious narratives are characteristic of a basic structure that defies the portrait analogy in any conventional way. Although recognizable portraits of historical characters and events appear in these texts, they function primarily as means of referring to the nature of the text.

Still, after all has been said, we do make a special allowance for the self-referential texts to function as media for historical Visions. In the realm of esoteric knowledge, Visions are insights into the Reality of things, and as we have learned from Hegel, insights can be gained through fully developed self-consciousness. Whereas the philosophical mode leads to an understanding of the nature of history, the self-conscious ´apocalyptic´ mode reveals the actuality of the text and any historical facts it may contain. Section one in chapter IV describes a number of Visions that may be generated through texts that are conscious of their semiotic status.

In the analyses of Waverley, Le Roi des Aulnes, and Gravity´s Rainbow, the aim is to examine the formal properties that produce the portrait and the Visions, respectively. It is intentional that the analyses deal first with narrative structure and semiotic functions, and only second with the historical subject matter, since none of the works claims to be either historical narratives or factual accounts. In fact, not only the contemporary works, but Scott´s romantic novel reveals its fictional status, as the narrator successfully manipulates his discourse to avoid trespassing into the historian´s territory.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AS A PORTRAIT: THE HISTORICIST CONTEXT

1. The Portrait of Sir Walter Scott, A.D. 1826

> Dans un appartement de l´hôtel Windsor, au second, au fond de la cour, j´ai trouvé l´illustre Ecossais. En entrant dans son cabinet, j´ai vu un vieillard tout autre que ne l´ont représenté les portraits vulgaires: sa taille est grande, mince et un peu voûtée; son épaule droite est un peu penchée vers le côté où il boite; sa tête a conservé encore quelques cheveux blancs, ses sourcils sont blancs et couvrent deux yeux bleus, petits, fatigués mais très doux, attendris et humides, annonçant, à mon avis, une sensibilité profonde. Son teint est clair comme celui de la plupart des Anglais, ses joues et son menton sont colorés légèrement. Je cherchai vainement le front d´Homère et le sourire de Rabelais que notre Charles Nodier vit avec son enthousiasme sur le buste de Walter Scott, en Ecosse; son front m´a semblé, au contraire, étroit, et développé seulement au-dessus des sourcils; sa bouche est arrondie et un peu tombante aux coins. Peut-être est-ce l´impression d´une douleur récente; cependant, je la crois habituellement mélancolique comme je l´ai trouvée. On l´a peint avec un nez aquilin: il est court, retroussé et gros à l´extrémité. La coupe de son visage et son expression ont un singulier rapport avec le port et l´habitude du corps et des traits du duc de Cadore, et plus encore du maréchal Macdonald, aussi de race écossaise, mais plus fatiguée et plus pensive, la tête du sage s´incline plus que celle du guerrier....Il me serrait la main avec un air paternel: sa main, un peu grasse, tremblait beaucoup...[1]

In 1826 Alfred de Vigny had published his novel Cinq-Mars about the noblemen´s conspiracy under Louis XIII, and towards the close of the same year he received the paternal handshake from the most admired of contemporary novelists, Sir Walter Scott. The meeting between the young French poet and the aging Scott is important in several respects to the development of the novelistic genre which since has come to be known as the historical novel. Most obviously the brief encounter marks a recognized kinship between the two writers, as a copy of Cinq-Mars was received by the Scot's trembling hand. Vigny was clearly impressed by the presence of the older author whom he compared with the greatest of men: "on ne voit pas tous les jours un grand homme dans ce temps-ci, lui ai-je dit; je n'ai connu encore que Bonaparte, Chateaubriand et vous (je me reprochais en secret d'oublier Girodet, mon ami, et d'autres encore, mais je parlais à un étranger)."[2] For Scott, however, the kinship lay beyond the fame of celebrities. For him it was a matter of recognizing a writer of the younger generation who had found a space within the intellectual inquiry that of national history, which he himself had spent most of his mature years exploring: "Prenant Cinq-Mars: 'Je connais cet événement, c'est une belle époque de votre histoire nationale'."[3]

The quick exchange of polite greetings, followed only hours later by Vigny's vivid recording of it in his journal, also symbolizes the immense popularity of Scott's fiction and the celebration of the man as a spokesman for a literary phenomenon considered entirely new. By 1826, a fixed image of the novelist had been established with the help of the poetic imagination of people like Charles Nodier, who had depicted Scott with a Homeric brow and a Rabelaisian smile. Indeed, Scott had by this time published no less than twenty-two of the Waverley-novels that earned him fame throughout Europe, and he had thus achieved the mythical status of a celebrity who had transcended the world of the mortal, snub-nosed Scott with the drooping mouth. In short, Scott's historical novels had become monumental in stature, and he himself had been canonized by his own countrymen as well as intellectuals abroad to the point where the "feuilletonistes" referred to "une école de Walter Scott."[4]

In the New World, the craze for historical romances had only had a head start of a few years, thanks to the prolific James Fenimore Cooper who, by this time, had written five successful novels, starting with The Spy in 1821. Only a few months after the British edition of The Last of the Mohicans had come off the press in London in July 1826, Scott came to call on Cooper in Paris during the first days of the American's seven-year-long stay abroad. On November 3, three days before Vigny was to climb the stairs of L'Hotel Windsor to see the old master, Scott arrived unexpectedly at Cooper's living quarters and "limped slowly up the grand stairway with his cane."[5] Not having met before, the two exchanged greetings in the manner of explorers meeting in a remote jungle:

> -- Est-ce Monsieur Cooper, que j'ai l'honneur de voir? -- Monsieur, je m'appelle Cooper. -- Eh bien, donc--je suis Walter Scott.[6]

In a letter written to her sister a few weeks later, Mrs. Cooper described Scott's larger-than-life physiognomy, and, like Vigny, she commented on the paternal aspect of the novelist:

> He was with us several times, and treated Mr. Cooper like a son or younger brother in the same vocation. He is a giant in form, as he is one in literature--to you who are craniologists, I must mention that his head is uncommonly high and narrow. He is very gray--and has a fine florid healthy appearance. He talks a great deal and quotes old ballads and Shakespeare very happily and pleasantly--and to this I will add that he has quite a rustic appearance--and still further, but this is for your private ear alone, that he put me in mind of one of our own country Presbyterian parsons.[7]

The two Anglo-American literary lions subsequently spent much time together engaging in conversations relating to publishing matters; but as is well known, during the following decade, Cooper's admiration for his mentor cooled off considerably due to differing views on the historical novel. In his famous essay-review in the Knickerbocker Magazine (Oct,1838) on the first biography of Scott by Lockhart, he accused Scott of having created a mélange of historical material and imagined history; he had thus, in Cooper's opinion, committed the ultimate sin of creating verisimilar worlds.

With the two meetings in 1826 as a point of departure, it is not our intention to create an artificial dividing line marking the birth of the historical novel as a recognized genre on the Continent and in America. Rather, the otherwise insignificant encounters have been drawn to the foreground as a symbol of a literary community of writers that not only made the historical novel increasingly popular, but that had also for some time engaged and would continue to engage in theoretical discussions about what the genre was or ought to be. In the present chapter we will focus on the problematics inherent in the genre from the point of view of six early Romantic novelists during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. The order of the critical statements is not arranged chronologically, but rather according to the criteria set up by the novelists in regard to the subtle balance between facts and fiction.

2. The Historical Novel as a Portrait: From Arnim to Manzoni

(The problematics of the wondrous versus the real, idealization, embellishment, verisimilitude, interpretation, modernization)

In order to solve the triadic problem of facts-fiction-truth, it is interesting to note the early experiment done by Achim von Arnim in 1817, before proceeding to the more serious and systematic attempts made later by Vigny, Scott, Cooper, Mérimée and Manzoni. Anticipating by a few years the Walter Scott mania which erupted in Germany during the twenties, the young Arnim produced the first part of his only historical novel, _Die Kronenwächter_. The novel is also considered the earliest serious attempt at the genre in the German language, although both Lukács and later Avrom Fleishman point to Kleist's novella Michael Kohlhaas (1808-10) as the first example of a short historical novel.[8]

As an educated man of the Gutsadel, Arnim's motives for writing about the turbulent period of Dürer's age and the Reformation were not just rooted in escapism, but also, as in Vigny's case, in a stubborn sense of loyalty towards the ancien régime.[9] Although Die Kronenwächter is an inferior work, the unfinished novel is nevertheless an object of curiosity with its historical motifs interwoven with fantastic elements. For Arnim the question was not whether lively embellishment or heightened grandeur was permissible as a means of producing entertaining or instructional representations of history. In his introduction to the novel, he puts equal emphasis on "Dichtung" and "Geschichte," and stresses that imagined passages, however fantastic, are necessary ingredients for a thorough poetic and truthful interpretation:

> Das Bemühen, diese Zeit in aller Wahrheit der Geschichte aus Quellen kennen zu lernen, entwickelte diese Dichtung, die sich keineswegs für eine geschichtliche Wahrheit gibt, sondern für eine geahndete Füllung der Lücken in der Geschichte, für ein Bild im Rahmen der Geschichte.[10]

The unalterable nature of "die Geschichte" in the metaphorical image of the frame delimiting the poetic "Bild" brings to its extreme the question of poetic licence at the expense of historical truth. For this romantic poet with his developed sense of self-importance, it is not a matter of creating a subtle blend of inventions and facts, so that history might be better served. Instead, the poet himself stands at the centre of his creation as the conveyer of Truth. Gothic elements, so much favoured by the romantics, are usually considered a weak point in serious historical fiction (although many, including Scott, were guilty of employing Gothic motifs). But in Arnim's terms, there is not necessarily an inherent contradiction in combining the wondrous with the real while still calling the product a historical portrait.

In all fairness it might be added that Arnim and his contemporaries in Germany were not yet caught up in the great wave of academic Historismus[11] and the later school of positivism that swept through the library shelves of Europe from the 1830s and on. It is of interest to compare, however, the strong presence of magic in modern magic realism (e.g. Cien años de soledad) with the Märchen-motifs in Arnim's novel(e.g. grotesque blood transfusions performed by a certain magician Faust, spooky cellars in Gothic castles, deep wells, supernatural forces of various sorts). The two magic modes stand squarely on either side of the age of historicism and realism, but the reasons for employing the supernatural elements differ in several respects. With modern magic realism, there is an opening of a historical understanding or consciousness which stands in contrast to the traditional "documented" approach to history, whereas Arnim had not even considered the new scientific methods in his retrieval of the past. Magic realism projects a modified type of realism in which reality per se is a combination of the subjective and the objective, but in Arnim's work the two elements, the wondrous and the observable, mix like oil and water, in spite of Arnim's strong feelings concerning the visionary role of the poet:

> Nennen wir die heiligen Dichter auch Seher und ist das Dichten ein Sehen höherer Art zu nennen, so läßt sich die Geschichte mit der Kristallkugel im Auge zusammenstellen, die nicht selbst sieht, aber dem Auge notwendig ist, um die Lichtwirkung zu sammeln und zu vereinen; ihr Wesen ist Klarheit, Reinheit und Farbenlosigkeit. Wer diese in der Geschichte verletzt, der verdirbt auch Dichtung, die aus ihr hervorgehen soll, wer die Geschichte zur Wahrheit läutert, schafft auch der Dichtung einen sichern Verkehr mit der Welt.[12]

In Vigny's "Réflexions sur la vérité dans l'art," which was published as a preface to Cinq-Mars in 1827, the human desire for "le VRAI du Fait"[13] is discussed in an equally serious manner. Through our incomplete memory, Vigny indicates, many sporadic facts of the past are recovered constantly, but the facts do not necessarily make any sense in a broader context, and as a result we lack the necessary tools to draw proper moral conclusions. The old Renaissance cliché of the world being a stage takes on a new meaning within Vigny's reference to historical truth:

> les actes de la famille humaine sur le théâtre du monde ont sans doute un ensemble, mais le

> sens de cette vaste tragédie qu'elle y joue ne sera visible qu'à l'oeil de Dieu, jusqu'au dénouement qui le révélera peut-être au dernier homme.[14]

According to Vigny, then, "le sens" of the human drama or history is invisible to the primitive man's eye, and God's secrets may only be revealed when time has run out. Again, for our purposes the metaphorical image of history is significant. Vigny's idea of the human drama has roots in both the anti-historical Augustinian concept of the "Two Cities" and the rationalist Voltairian doctrine. For the early Church Father, history is a divine design with a beginning, a long middle, and a predestined end. For Vigny, the ultimate theme of the human tragedy is likewise known only to God; but at the same time, Vigny follows the rational ideas stemming from the Enlightenment which were carried on by early nineteenth-century writers, such as Scott. The true design of history will in these terms be visible through reasoning and knowledge. According to Vigny, then, it is quite clear how the road to "la vérité dans l'art" must begin:

> il faut sans doute commencer par connaître tout le VRAI de chaque siècle, être imbu profondément de son ensemble et de ses détails.[15]

The artist with his imagination and genius must subsequently group the facts, which have been painstakingly gathered, around a "centre inventé." A work of art, permeated with both historical and poetic truth, will thus finally present itself.

Contemporary with the new demands made by the schools of scientific historiography, research had by this time become a requirement for any serious writer of historical fiction. Varying from diplomatic documents to memoirs and letters, the more systematic approach had become a moral obligation as part of the increasing interest in presenting the past as it really was. Both Scott and Vigny realized, however, that although the Truth was desirable, it could only be represented in approximate terms. To Scott, as we know, colouring and ornamentation were not in contradiction with truthfulness, not if liveliness was the goal. Even if a certain amount of idealistic embellishment is noticeable, especially in the medieval novels, Scott's works never stood out as great moral lessons for future generations.

Vigny was of another political bent and in a sense much more conservative than his elder colleague. In an essay from 1838, John Stuart Mill distinguishes between three conservative periods in French literature from the years preceding the first revolution till the years following 1830:

> Conservatism triumphant, conservatism militant, — conservatism vanquished....At the head of the literature of Conservatism in its second and militant period, stands Chateaubriand...a conservative poet to the inmost core....To this literature of Conservatism discouraged but not yet disenchanted, still hopeful and striving to set up again its old idols, Cinq-Mars belongs.[16]

For Vigny the 1820s were "triste et désenchanteresse,"[17] and it was therefore comforting for him to believe in a past where stronger heroes could sort out the bad from the good with ease. The phenomenon is well known, and as Michel Pierre has pointed out in his article "Il était une fois," historical fiction of heroic deeds becomes popular during hard times.[18] But rather than being an overt expression of propaganda during the ascendance of yet another social revolution, Vigny's militant conservatism was a way to sweep the present problems under the literary rug. "La vérité" was an ideal, an essence which should be portrayed larger than life or "le VRAI des Faits," hence Vigny's emphasis on famous historical personalities. Scott found the absence of "le peuple" a fault in Cinq-Mars,[19] and it is precisely this divergence of emphasis in the historical presentations that expresses the two novelists' different ways of perceiving the 'solid foundation' of Clio's domain.

Vigny did not show the kind of self-irony that Scott did in his apologetic prefaces, but the French poet's solemnity should not be confused with simplicity. Clio's heroic trumpet served a purpose well beyond the simple desire for nostalgic heroism, since Vigny was keenly aware of the difficulties inherent in the re-creation of historical facts. The recording of his rendezvous with Scott is only a small example of facts being distorted by the viewer's predisposition. The case in point is Nodier's interpretation of a bust of Scott, the bust already removed one mimetic step from the flesh-and-blood Scott. The clash between what Vigny saw with his own eyes in the hotel suite and what he had been told by Nodier (as referred to in the introductory quotation to this chapter) is further complicated by his recording of the event that, in addition to "facts," expresses Vigny's expectations and personal interpretation of the situation in retrospect. Vigny's narrative discloses the unreliability of an eyewitness account by the use of expressions such as "je crois deviner," "à mon avis," "peut-être," "j'ai pensé que," etc.. In his philosophical reflections he points out the weakness of this phenomenon, although he seems to put the blame on the "facts" themselves: "le fait adopté est toujours mieux composé que le vrai, et n'est même adopté que parce qu'il est plus beau que lui."[20] Historical facts are muddled according to Vigny, and although they might make sense to God within his great scheme, it appears that men have difficulties recognizing what they stand for:

> Formé à demi par les nécessités du temps, un FAIT est enfoui tout obscur et embarrassé, tout naïf, tout rude, quelquefois mal construit, comme un bloc de marbre non dégrossi; les premiers qui le déterrent et le prennent en main le voudraient autrement tourné, et le passent à d'autres mains déjà un peu arrondi; d'autres le polissent en le faisant circuler; en moins de rien il arrive au grand jour transformé en statue impérissable.[21]

From the beginning of his career as a writer of historical fiction, Scott was also keenly aware of history being a sacred subject which should be handled with respect and care. Like Vigny, Scott observed that the domain of history was often obscure due to the lack of proper information and documentation, but it was undeniably "there" in an ordered and unalterable state which could be disclosed if only one possessed the proper tools. In *Waverley* (1814), the narrator reminds the reader that "it is not our purpose to intrude upon the province of history" (ch.57), while the still popular adage "and the rest is history" takes the form of "the rest is well known" in an earlier chapter (ch.47).[22]

The problem of selection of historical data for the purpose of producing a coherent image of the original historical situation was naturally a serious issue for all the writers who wished to deal with the Truth; but the same writers were confident that an iron-strong and recognizable structure was buried under the burden of infinite details. Voltaire, sixty years since, had already experienced the difficulties of sorting through the confusion of seemingly unrelated details in preparation for his work on French history, and his practical advice was to choose from the storehouse of manners and create an edifice that would represent the original structure:

> --Mais . . .--si, parmi tant de matériaux brutes et informes, vous choisissiez de quoi vous faire un édifice à votre usage; si, en retranchant tous les détails des guerres, aussi ennuyeux qu'infidèles, toutes les petites négociations, qui n'ont été que des fourberies inutiles, toutes les aventures particulières, qui étouffent les grands événements; si, en conservant celles qui peignent les moeurs, vous faisiez de ce chaos un tableau général et bien articulé; si vous cherchiez à démêler dans les

> événements l'histoire de l'esprit humain, croiriez-vous avoir perdu votre temps?[23]

The metaphorical image of history as an unexplored domain, territory, or chaos was not invented by Scott or Voltaire. It might only seem worthwhile mentioning when considered within the larger context of the nature of history and language, a philosophical question that has intrigued writers and thinkers throughout all ages, but that has lately resurfaced in a new guise because of the efforts of the postmodernist writers. As far as one can gather from a panoramic glance at the theoretical prefaces appended to the early historical novels and at the statements concerning the historical content in the same novels, the major concern seemed to be how history might be best portrayed and not necessarily what it might be. Still, history was dangerous territory, and the novelist had to tread softly so as not to disturb the archeological contours and cornerstones.

The fickle dichotomy between fact and fiction, which one invariably encounters in any discussion about historical novels, becomes less fickle and more fruitful when put into context with the image of the steadfast structure, named History (the object of historical studies), as perceived by the romantics and later by the realists. Although there is a great distance between Scott and the Augustinian world view in which the past, the present, and the future, and thus History, was understood as a divine act, there is nevertheless an invisible hand present in Scott's vision of the past. When he apologetically admits to his occasional embellishments, Scott at the same time recognizes that there exists a real and objective blueprint to which one must pay allegiance. In the prefatory letter to _Peveril of the Peak_ (1822), the Author engages in an imaginary discussion with the pedantic critic, Dryasdust, on the subject of truthfulness:

> _Dryasdust_. Craving, then, your paternal forgiveness for my presumption, I only sighed at the possibility of your venturing yourself amongst a body of critics to whom, in the capacity of skilful antiquaries, the investigation of truth is an especial duty, and who may therefore visit with the more severe censure those aberrations which it is so often your pleasure to make from the path of true history.
>
> _Author_. I understand you. You mean to say these learned persons will have but little toleration for a romance or a fictitious narrative founded upon history?
>
> _Dryasdust_ Why, sir, I do rather apprehend that their respect for the foundation will be such that they may be apt to quarrel with the inconsistent nature of the superstructure, just as every classical traveller pours forth expressions of sorrow and indignation when, in travelling through Greece, he chances to see a Turkish kiosk rising on the ruins of an ancient temple.[24]

As far as the Author and presumably Scott himself are concerned, the anachronistic kiosk placed among the authentic ruins only enhances the spectator's experience and feeds his imagination. The implication is that history is extraordinarily powerful as an objective entity to the extent that imaginary additions or anachronistic elements cannot alter or distort history per se. This unshakeable faith in history as a foundation for Truth amounts to naivety when the Author rejects the accusation made by the critic that intoxicating additives are not only sweet but also "seductively dangerous":[25]

> Author....I will explain. A poor fellow, like myself, weary with ransacking his own barren and bounded imagination, looks out for some general subject in the huge and boundless field of history, which holds forth examples of every kind; lights on some personage, or some combination of circumstances, or some striking trait of manners, which he thinks may be advantageously used as the basis of a fictitious narrative; bedizens it with such colouring as his skill suggests, ornaments it with such romantic circumstances as may heighten the general effect, invests it with such shades of character as will best contrast with each other, and thinks, perhaps, he has done some service to the public, if he can present to them a lively fictitious picture, for which the original anecdote or circumstance which he made free to press into his service only furnished a slight sketch. Now I cannot perceive any harm in this. The stores of history are accessible to every one, and are no more exhausted or impoverished by the hints thus borrowed from them than the fountain is drained by the water which we subtract for domestic purposes. And in reply to the sober charge of falsehood against a narrative announced positively to be fictitious, one can only answer by Prior's exclamation--
>
> Odzooks, must one swear to the truth of a song?[26]

By claiming to have crossed the line from authentic history to fictional narrative, the author has thus washed his hands of any guilt concerning distortions and considers himself on safe and neutral ground. Instead of pursuing the first line of argument as to whether "true history" would suffer significantly from ornamentation and effective highlighting, he seems to have changed the name of the game altogether and sought refuge in the role of the poet who is not made responsible for his actions. The fact remains, though, that the Author of Peveril of the Peak refers in his "song" to real-life personages in historical settings and has not produced any sound argument in defense of his tampering with the Truth.

At the other extreme of the theoretical spectrum regarding historical truth lies the more sober formulation by Cooper. Scott's "romances," as they were often referred to, did not meet the standards that Cooper had set for his own historical novels. Of his no less than thirty-one novels dealing mostly with American history, he regarded only Lionel Lincoln (1825) as a true specimen of the genre, although he, in his first preface to the New York edition, did admit to several anachronisms:[27]

> They relate rather to persons than to things. As they are believed to be quite in character, connected with circumstances much more probable than facts, and to possess all the harmony of poetic colouring, the author is utterly unable to discover the reason why they are not true.[28]

"Poetic colouring" did not bother Cooper in the least in regard to his romances, a point on which he agrees with Scott. He also shared Scott's idea of being an entertainer first and foremost and an instructor second.[29] His criteria for the serious genre, then, lie in the more fundamental separation between poetry or romance on the one hand and history on the other hand. He would really have preferred to leave the latter domain to the historians who did not, or should not, feel tempted to impair "the dignity of their works, by permitting the peculiarities of style that have embellished their lighter labours, to lessen the severity of manner that more properly distinguishes narratives of truth."[30]

Equivalent to Arnim´s "Rahme" is Cooper´s image of a botanical stock, but instead of providing a harmonious and delimiting frame for a poetic picture, the grafts of imagination are foreign objects, anomalies:

> The difficulty is only increased in works of fiction that are founded on the customs of America, when a writer attempts to engraft the scions of the imagination on the stock of history. The plant is too familiar with the senses, and the freshness of the exotic is tarnished by the connexion.[31]

In order to overcome the problem of tainting familiar history with exotica, Cooper laboured to the extreme in his detailed research on the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, anno 1775, for Lionel Lincoln:

> No pains were spared in examining all the documents, both English and American; and many private authorities were consulted, with a strong desire to ascertain the truth. The ground was visited and examined, and the differing testimony was subjected to a close comparison between the statements and the probability. Even a journal of the state of the weather was procured, and its entries were rigidly respected; so that he who feels sufficient interest in these details may rest

> assured that he will obtain facts on all these particulars, by reading this book.[32]

As a result of his severe demands on the historical parts of his tale, his narrative is a failure in comparison with the light and fresh Leather-stocking Tales. As we shall see below, Cooper ultimately shared Manzoni's mistrust of the new genre and saw no solution for an acceptable marriage between history and fiction.

The idea of having trespassed on the territory of the historian formed the basis of his later criticism of Scott in the Knickerbocker-essay mentioned earlier, an idea he had nurtured since the publication of his third "romance," The Pilot, in 1823, a year before the completion of Lionel Lincoln:

> [The writer of Romances] is permitted to garnish a probable fiction, while he is sternly prohibited from dwelling on improbable truths; but it is the duty of [the Historian] to record facts as they have occurred, without a reference to consequences, resting his reputation on a firm foundation of realities, and vindicating his integrity by his authorities.[33]

Although "at the head of his class," Scott had committed the error of producing "the art of seemliness, of vraisemblance in delineation, of appearances in practice" in his tendency to embellish legends and historical events rather than to create "probable fiction."[34]

Cooper's Aristotelian separation of history from poetry, (i.e. history as a description of what actually happened and poetry of what might happen) is simple and easy to accept. The neat theory, however, excludes the more interesting problematics of how to fill in the blanks between known facts and how to tie the facts together into a readable narrative. Whereas Scott, Vigny and Arnim thought of the best ways to evoke history, Cooper focused on creating worlds of fiction parallel to and outside history proper. Inspired by the facts from real history, he thus conjured up plots or "romances"--with the exception of _Lionel Lincoln_--that were "probable" within the historical context.

The theoretical problems of interpretation and modernization, the latter term much elaborated on by Lukács a century later, had already been considered by Prosper Mérimée as early as 1829. Like his contemporaries, Mérimée considered history as an unalterable _fait accompli_ with a vague structure based on causal relationships upon which one could build stories. But instead of focusing on the decorative, idealistic, or incongruent aspects of _fictional_ elements, he realized, like Tolstoy fifty years later, that interpretation of the _facts_ was the key to understanding history. According to Mérimée, history is like an unabridged book, and, as he explains in the preface to _Chronique du règne de Charles IX_ (1829), it comprises "le précis des événements historiques." [35] His own tale of the bloody St. Bartholomew Massacre related in _Chronique_ is therefore only the result of "quelques idées qui me sont venues à l'esprit en lisant cette sanglante page de notre histoire."[36] Like the Scriptures, upon which the book metaphor is modelled, the book of men's deeds is open to countless interpretations. In fact, the "exegetic" commentaries of the secular history books vary as much in content as do the so-called historical romances. "Real" historians, in Mérimée's view, would presumably be what Scott called "skillful antiquaries" or "learned persons" [37] who painstakingly list and describe details, all details, in the spirit of the newly evolving school of academic historians. Ironically, the young Ranke, who later became known for his strong faith in documentation as the basic tool for historical research, fell victim in the same year, 1829, to one of Mérimée's famous hoaxes. The Frenchman's alleged translation of a collection of Serbian folk songs, La Guzla (published 1827), was not only praised by the reviewers at the time, but also quoted by various scholars and poets, among them Ranke, in his History of the Serbian Revolution, in which he praises one of Mérimée's poems as "a faithful picture of Serbian customs."[38]

Mérimée did not see much use for an antiquarian approach to the discovery of the past, a point which he makes clear in his imaginary dialogue between author and reader in chapter VIII of Chronique, as this approach excludes the more intellectually stimulating processes of interpretation and comprehension:

> Ah! monsieur l'auteur, quelle belle occasion vous avez là de faire des portraits! Et quels portraits! Vous allez nous mener au château de

> Madrid, au milieu de la cour. Et quelle cour! Vous allez nous la montrer, cette cour franco-italienne? Faites-nous connaître l'un après l'autre tous les caractères qui s'y distinguent. Que de choses nous allons apprendre! et qu'une journée passée au milieu de tant de grands personnages doit être intéressante!
>
> --Hélas! monsieur le lecteur, que me demandez-vous là? Je voudrais bien avoir le talent d'écrire une Histoire de France; je ne ferais pas de contes. Mais, dites-moi, pourquoi voulez-vous que je vous fasse faire connaissance avec des gens qui ne doivent point jouer de rôle dans mon roman?[39]

Anticipating by nearly half a century Tolstoy's quarrelsome critique of the established interpretations of great events (War and Peace, Epilogue, part 2), Mérimée took it upon himself to engage in a new close reading of the "sanglante page" and create a different picture from the raw material:

> A-t-on bien compris les causes qui ont amené ce massacre? A-t-il été longuement médité, ou bien est-il le résultat d'une détermination soudaine ou même du hasard?
>
> A toutes ces questions, aucun historien ne me donne de réponse satisfaisante.[40]

To this day, Mérimée's version of the events of 1572 stands in relative isolation, even when compared with Heinrich Mann's Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre. Instead of the pompous presentation of great men, which his "reader" expected, Mérimée offered a series of vignettes that in the end literally left all questions unanswered:

> Mergy se consola-t-il? Diane prit-elle un autre amant? Je le laisse à décider au lecteur qui, de la sorte, terminera toujours le roman à son

gré. FIN.[41]

Another part of the dogmatic element that Mérimée wished to avoid was the question of modernization. Too often, he mentions in the preface, historians and "conteurs" impose modern morals and values on their interpretations of the past, an error for which even Scott had been criticized. In order to convey the horrors of the massacre as they had appeared to the French in the sixteenth century, Mérimée supplemented his research with memoirs and pamphlets: "Le style de ces auteurs contemporains en apprend autant que leurs récits."[42] It is true that both Scott and Cooper, for example, had studied legends, ballads, and popular history as material for their romances, but Mérimée seemed to be more concerned with capturing the psychology, morality, and mentality of the chosen era in order to produce the more probable chain of events. Moreover, the ingenious part of his insight is to have perceived the more modern concerns of language itself as being a dominant factor in the interpretational process. The style as well as the content of a particular anecdote are indicators of what happened and of the way in which manners were judged:

> Ce qui est crime dans un état de civilisation perfectionné n'est que trait d'audace dans un état de civilisation moins avancé, et peut-être est-ce une action louable dans un temps de barbarie. Le jugement qu'il convient de porter de la même action doit, on le sent, varier aussi suivant les pays, car entre un peuple et un peuple il y a autant de différence qu'entre un siècle et un autre siècle.[43]

Despite their obvious enthusiasm for the new genre, Arnim, Vigny, Cooper, and Mérimée each produced only a few samples of it. Either their talents led them to different literary avenues, as in the case of Arnim and Vigny, or the writers took the problematics of the genre so seriously that they either turned to genuine history writing (Mérimée) or, as in the case of Cooper, to the two mutually exclusive genres of entertaining romances and factual historical narratives. Alessandro Manzoni in Italy was no exception, and like his serious-minded contemporaries, he realized that tampering with history had ethical implications that one could not simply hide under the cloak of entertainment. To summarize Manzoni's ideas on history and its new novelistic offshoot is an ungrateful task considering that it took the man many years (1828-50) to formulate and revise his views published in the essay Del romanzo storico (On the Historical Novel). Since his prognosis for the genre changed drastically over the years from being very optimistic to being almost ominous, it is necessary to mention at least three stages of his thesis.[44]

Using the well-known device of an imaginary dialogue between author and reader/critic, Manzoni proposes the foundation-metaphor of history in yet another variation:

> After all, you [reader] want him [author] to give you, not just the bare bones of history, but something richer, more complete. In a way, you want him to put the flesh back on the skeleton that is history.[45]

By juxtaposing history, as an invisible bone structure, with the invented parts or the poetry, as the visible flesh of the text, Manzoni points out a relationship between the two elements which he thought possible before writing I promessi sposi (The Betrothed, 1840). In an earlier essay from 1820 (published in 1823 as "lettre à M. Chauvet"), he considers history and poetry, or "positive truth" and "the verisimilar," as symbiotic companions in a joint effort to represent reality:

> ...what, in the end, does history give us? Events that are known only, so to speak, from the outside, what men have done. But what they have thought, the feelings that have accompanied their decisions and their plans, their successes and misfortunes, the words by which they have asserted--or tried to assert--their passions and wills on those of others, by which they have expressed their anger, poured out their sadness, by which, in a word, they have revealed their individuality: all that, more or less, is passed over in silence by history; and all that is the domain of poetry.[46]

At this point, the unavoidable element of embellishment is thus for Manzoni not just a decorative finishing touch, but a necessary component of the truth, which verifiable data by themselves cannot describe. As with many of the romantics, the Viconian influence is especially strong in this early view of history that demands cultural, sociological, and psychological insights in addition to the bare positive truth.

It is also this last formulation that comes closest to the procedure followed in I promessi sposi and to Lukacs' definition of realism, of which the historical novel is only a subgenre. In fact, history in this sense is a part of lived reality which again is a part of the ultimate truth, the latter having an absolute and unchangeable essence. That the truth according to Lukács is due to dialectical materialism, whereas Manzoni believes in divine planning, hardly matters. What is important in this context is the shared faith in history as being equivalent to the skeletal part of "what actually happened"--to use Aristotle's and later Ranke's phrase--as consisting of documentary facts which are shaped and interpreted by "universal" principles determined by God or understood by Marx and finally combined with poetic elements to complete the realistic representation.

As noted by Sandra Bermann, the Italian novelist already showed signs of a change of heart in regard to the historical novel in his essay from 1823, "Sul romanticismo" (On Romanticism). Whether this second stage was due to an increasing interest in the idealist tradition of philosophy, to a return to his Catholic faith, or more practically, to the experience of writing the first draft of I promessi sposi, is not certain. History, one might deduce from his essay/letter, does not, as he first thought, contain in itself the organizing principle of past reality. The new problem, however, remained unanswered for decades until the publication of the famous essay dealing with the final rejection of the historical novel.

The attributes formerly ascribed to the new genre had now at this last stage been swept aside, only to be added to the already troubled area of historical narrative itself. It appears that Manzoni felt that he had been seduced temporarily by the attractiveness of the new vogue into believing that the historical novel is comparable to historical narrative, and even worse, that both modes are expressions of true reality. His revised argument is long, but it suffices to mention four important points: first, that history writing has its own problems of combining the positively true with the verisimilar, a point that should not be further complicated by the peculiar demands made by the novel; second, that historical narrative traditionally is a rhetorical expression; third, that the historical novel is first and foremost invention; and fourth, that invention or poetry might contain its own truth quite unaided by verifiable facts. In the final analysis, Manzoni, like Cooper, saw no other solution to the problem of the genre than keeping the two modes of representation clear of each other, historical narrative on the one side and fiction, however verisimilar, on the other side of the same coin purporting to represent truth.

Portraits are imitations to be sure, but they are nevertheless shaped by subjective, cultural, ideological, technical, and aesthetic intentions that go far beyond the bare facts. As Manzoni implies towards the end of his essay, the dividing line between the model and his portrait can be very fine indeed, but at the point where the two coincide and an apparent mirror image has been produced, confusion may arise. However, only a tiny shift in the angle of viewing or interpreting will disclose the imitation as merely a two-dimensional illusion:

> ...to produce this effect in people of another time, the author must try to compensate for experience with information and, as it were, try to put the original and the portrait into a single work. Thus there is not the direct contrast between the true and the verisimilar, and this is doubtless a great advantage, but at the same time there is either a confusion of the two or a division between them. In fact, as was demonstrated perhaps at greater length than necessary in the first part of this essay, there are inevitably, in widely varying proportions, both confusion and division.[47]

As this short survey of historical novelists shows, the genre had hardly begun to gain popularity and respectability when its practitioners encountered theoretical and ethical difficulties. A critic has, in retrospect, even suggested that the historical novel, as a serious literary mode, began and ended with Sir Walter Scott,[48] a harsh judgement if one wants to include the modern novels by, for example, Heinrich Mann, Mary Renault, Marguerite Yourcenar, or Robert Graves. Yet, it is true that no one has found a successful formula so far which could obliterate the inherent flaws in the hybrid genre.

One thing that these pioneers of the "realistic historical novel" (the term will be defined in the following section) had in common, however, was a strong faith in history itself. Arnim thought of it as a neutral and functional frame for his fantastic pictures, Vigny believed it to be God's creation of "les actes de la famille humaine," while Scott understood it as a foundation or sketch for his own further elaborations. History was for Cooper like the stock of a familiar plant upon which the writer engrafted exotic scions, and for Mérimée the facts of history made up an endless and not necessarily coherent text open to an endless number of often open interpretations. At first Manzoni compared history to a fleshless skeleton, but later he revised this notion and described history as a live model which defies accurate portrayal except at the price of confusing the observers.

Another attitude these novelists shared was their reverence for history. If no longer considered a sacred domain, except in metaphorical terms, history had now taken on a pseudoscientific aura. Although poetic licence, anachronisms, and historical aberrations were abundant and often admitted to by the novelists, apologies were equally frequent. Apart from Arnim, the historical novelists felt an obligation to research their material thoroughly, and according to their individual attitudes to history, they studied not only documents and chronicles but historical narratives, oral history/literature, memoirs, journals and letters.

The problems and disagreements began with the reconstruction, the representation, or the re-enactment of the past. On the one hand, history was to these novelists a reality with some kind of pattern or order, at least a chronological order, but because reality on the whole consists of an indefinite number of details that amount to chaos--and in the case of past reality, a limited number of known details--the task, according to the historical novelists, was to rediscover the original pattern.

There are thus three stages implied in the novelist's task. The final one is the artist's finished portrait, tableau, or painting, whereas the intermediate stage is dominated by the work of the antiquarian or researcher who wanders through the "boundless fields of history" (Scott) or rummages through the Voltairian chaos of details. The initial stage, or in a sense the very last stage, is, in contrast to the other two, of a much more speculative and philosophical nature, and it is identifiable through two different avenues. Either the novelist from his researched and finished product projects a pattern which he calls true history, a skeleton, or a frame which is congruent with his portrait, or he begins with an a priori conception of a historical event, proceeds to find the relevant data with which to build the structure, and finally adds the artistic touches. Whatever method is used, the implications are that for the historical novelists the patterns of history are real and the representation of historical reality possible, at least in theory.

Using Barthes´ terminology, the "denoted" message in all the imitative arts (drawings, paintings, cinema, theatre) that aspire to analogical reproductions of reality would in the case of the historical novel correspond to the unalterable structure of history itself. The "connoted" messages, on the other hand, would be shaped by the artist´s skill, imagination, and insight as well as the "period rhetoric."[49] The decisive difference between the artistic images of reality, which Barthes refers to, and the historical novel is that the object of the analogon in the former case is a concrete object from the real world, whereas history is man-made, that is, patterns and meaning are projected intellectually from incomplete data. When we thus talk about the "denoted" message in a historical novel, we disregard the speculative aspect of historical accounts, and in practical terms equate history with lived reality.

For Cooper and Manzoni the "denoted" message in the historical novel or romance was by definition tainted by the artist´s interference, and both writers preferred the rhetoric of historical narrative over historical fiction as the correct tool for analogical reproductions of history. Mérimée, also a sceptic, realized that the so-called "denoted" message in both historical narrative and novels was probably just another "connoted" message created by the interpreter/writer. Finally, Arnim, Scott, and Vigny had no problems identifying the real "denoted" historical message in their portraits, but ascribed the aberrations of fantastic elements, embellishments, and idealization, respectively, as "connoted" messages that would not negate but, if anything, would enhance the historical content.

Notes For Chapter 1

[1] Alfred de Vigny (Journal, Lundi, 6 novembre, 1826) in the Dossier appended to Cinq-Mars (Paris: Gallimard, 1980),pp. 550-51.

[2] Vigny, Journal, p.551.

[3] Vigny, Journal, p.551.

[4] Editorial note in Cinq-Mars, p. 541

[5] Robert E. Spiller, Fenimore Cooper: Critic of His Times (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), p. 116

[6] Spiller, p.116.

[7] Spiller, p.117.

[8] Georg Lukács, The Historical Novel, tr. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell(Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1981), pp. 74-76; and Avrom Fleishman, The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1971), p. xviii.

[9] Ralph Tymms, German Romantic Literature (London: Methuen, 1955), p. 269

[10] Achim von Arnim, "Einleitung: Dichtung und Geschichte," preface to Die Kronenwächter (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1983), p. 11.

[11] The term Historismus and its English equivalent "historicism" are here used in their original meaning to denote an academic discipline "concerned with the comprehension of the past in its uniqueness" or "as a movement of political thought [that] rejected not only natural law theory but any attempt to formulate norms of political behaviour or rights of men" ("Historicism," Dictionary of the History of Ideas, vol.II,458) and not in the sense employed by Karl Popper, i.e. historicism as a philosophy that embraces historical determinism and predictability.

[12] Arnim, "Einleitung," p. 10.

[13] Alfred de Vigny, "Réflexions sur la vérité dans l´art," preface to Cinq-Mars (Paris: Gallimard, 1980), p. 22.

[14] Vigny, "Réflexions," p. 23.

[15] Vigny, "Réflexions," p. 24.

[16] John Stuart Mill, "Poems and Romances of Alfred de Vigny," in his Essays on Poetry, ed. F. Parvin Sharpless (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), pp. 116-20.

[17] Vigny, "Réflexions," p. 24.

[18] Michel Pierre, "Il était une fois," Magazine Littéraire, No.164 (1980), 34-36.

[19] Vigny, Journal (Mai, 1829), p. 552.

[20] Vigny, "Réflexions," p. 27.

[21] Vigny, "Réflexions," p. 26.

[22] Sir Walter Scott, Waverley (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1983), pp. 339,389.

[23] F.M. Arouet de Voltaire, "Préface" addressed to Mme du Châtelet, heading the volume published by Voltaire in 1754, under the title Essai sur l'histoire universelle, tome troisième (it disappeared in the editions which followed). Rpt. in Mélanges III, vol.24 of Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire, ed. Louis Moland (Nedeln, Liechtenstein: Klaus Reprint, 1967), pp. 41-42.

[24] Sir Walter Scott, The Prefaces to the Waverley Novels, ed. Mark A. Weinstein (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), pp. 64-65.

[25] Scott, Prefaces, p. 65.

[26] Scott, Prefaces, p. 66 (emphasis added).

[27] Reference to Marcel Clavel, Fenimore Cooper and His Critics: American, British and French Criticisms of the Novelist's Early Works (Aix-en-Provence, 1938), p. 393, given by Arvid Shulenberger, Cooper's Theory of Fiction: His Prefaces and Their Relation to His Novels (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1955), p. 24.

[28] James Fenimore Cooper, Preface to Lionel Lincoln (New York: Wiley, 1825) as quoted in Cooper's Theory of Fiction, p. 24.

[29] Cooper, The Heidenmauer (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1832), ch.V, as quoted in Cooper's Theory of Fiction, p. 45.

[30] Cooper, Preface to The History of the Navy of the

United States of America (Philadelphia, 1839), as quoted in *Cooper's Theory of Fiction*, p. 51.

[31] Cooper, Preface to *The Spy*, 3rd ed.(New York: Wiley and Halstead, 1922), as quoted in *Cooper's Theory of Fiction*, p. 16.

[32] Cooper, Preface to *Lionel Lincoln* (London: Bentley, 1832), as quoted in *Cooper's Theory of Fiction*, p. 27.

[33] Cooper, Preface to *The Pilot* (New York: Wiley, 1823), as quoted in *Cooper's Theory of Fiction*, p. 20.

[34] Cooper, *The Knickerbocker* or *New-York Monthly Magazine*, XII (Oct., 1838), 363-4, as quoted in *Cooper's Theory of Fiction*, p. 53.

[35] Prosper Mérimée, Preface to *Chronique du règne de Charles IX* (Paris: Le Divan, 1928), p. 7.

[36] Mérimée, Preface, p.7.

[37] Scott, Preface to *Peveril of the Peak* in *The Prefaces to the Waverley Novels*, pp. 64-5.

[38] Maxwell A. Smith, *Prosper Mérimée* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972), p. 63. See also V.M. Yovanovitch, *La Guzla de Prosper Mérimée* (Hachette, 1911), pp. 456-58.

[39] Mérimée, *Chronique*, pp. 125-26.

[40] Mérimée, Preface to *Chronique*, pp. 7-8.

[41] Mérimée, *Chronique*, p. 364.

[42] Mérimée, Preface to *Chronique*, pp. 3-4

[43] Mérimée, Preface to *Chronique*, p. 5.

[44] For the discussion of Manzoni's views, I am indebted to the study by Sandra Bermann in her introduction to the translation of *Del romanzo storico* [Alessandro Manzoni, *On the Historical Novel*, tr. and introd. Sandra Bermann (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984)].

[45] Manzoni, *On the Historical Novel*, p. 68.

[46] Manzoni, "Lettre à M. Chauvet," as quoted by Sandra Bermann, p. 23.

[47] Manzoni, *On the Historical Novel*, p. 125.

[48] Harrie Gilliam, Review of Avrom Fleishman's *The English Historical Novel* in *Clio*, 1(1972), No.2, 58.

[49] Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message" in _A Barthes Reader_, ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), pp. 196-97.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY, STORY AND DISCOURSE IN WAVERLEY: A FORMAL APPROACH

1. History and Text as Process

It is ironic that after having argued at length in The Historical Novel (1937) that the "historical novel" is not a genre in its own right, Lukács nevertheless insists on employing the label and on giving it a specific definition. The reason is twofold. On the one hand, traditional Marxist aesthetics, as we know, will make allowances for only a narrow range of artistic representation epitomized by the Scottian and Balzacian models of realism and hence will impose a distinction between historical/realistic representation and subjective/idealistic representation. On the other hand, the Marxist critic is also aware that the label is being used by other literary historians to characterize works of "incorrect" historical/realistic representations, and as a result, Lukács is obliged to define the label in exact terms.[1]

Still more curious is the fact that most critics, while otherwise disagreeing with Marxist aesthetic theories, agree with Lukács that Scott is the first and probably the best example of the genre, and this in spite of their often much broader definitions, which include modernist and postmodernist texts. The common denominator for nearly all theories of the historical novel, then, is the identification of and "reading out" (defined by Seymour

Chatman as a "decoding from surface to deep narrative structures")[2] of the historicist doctrine which in turn is based on empiricist documentation and the principles of progress and process.

It is the aim of the present chapter to describe in formal terms how historical references in Sir Walter Scott's novel, Waverley, manifest themselves to the extent that one may speak of an enactment of a historical process and the depiction of a sense of change in time.

As a prefatory observation, it may be noted that although the formalist-structuralist method aims to be ideologically neutral, it is nevertheless particularly well suited for the description of the notions of documentation, progress, and process. Not only do these three notions form the deep structural backbone of "realism" as an aesthetic means of reproducing the class struggle, but they can also be used to describe the substance, the plot progression, and the dynamic process that characterize the traditional story. As Aristotle noted in Poetics and Chatman confirms in Story and Discourse, every story is a structure which undergoes a metamorphosis from the state of praxis (elements imitated from the real world) through logos (ordering of the elements) to mythos: the three stages of art production from imitation of the real world to the formalized and processed art work (SD 19).

Although this thesis is primarily a comparison between traditional historical novels and postmodernist novels that contain a high degree of historical references, it is our contention that it is necessary to understand the formal elements of narratives in general and the relationship between these elements and the conventions employed in early historical fiction. Hence, we find ourselves facing, as Lukács and so many other theorists have, the Scottian novel with yet another method of dissection, not so much for the sake of drawing parallels between the principles of historical materialism and Scott´s historical vision, but for the sake of determining the historical/realistic features within the context of narrative structure.

The notions that will be examined first are thus milieu, setting, character(story existents), and causality, actions, happenings (story events), all of which are components of the story or narrative content. The main sources of narrative theory will be Gérard Genette´s _Figures III_ (1972) and Seymour Chatman´s _Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film_ (1978). Since themes are not identifiable in the narrative structure _per se_, a different methodology based on Barthesian codes will be applied in order to establish a tentative relationship between various themes and narrative structure in the early historical novel.

Before commencing, a few terms must be clarified because they have been made problematic by critical usage."Story" is used here in the sense of the "transposable story" (SD 20), the abstracted story which may be reduced and reproduced in a different medium. Story corresponds thus to the formalist fabula or Genette's histoire. However, when Sir Herbert Butterfield, for example, refers to Dumas as a great story-teller, he uses the term in the popular sense, that is, to denote a person who is able to "spin a yarn."[3] The yarn is, of course, the original chronological chain of events which in itself may not be exciting at all, and the spinning-process is the re-arrangement of the original components. This re-arrangement is partly what the formalists name sjuzet or "plot," and partly what Genette calls "récit." Boris Tomashevsky defines "plot" as being "distinct from story...[b]oth include the same events, but in the plot the events are arranged and connected according to the orderly sequence in which they were presented in the work."[4]

The formalists therefore do not make a distinction between the abstracted "plot" and the actual text, whereas Genette does exactly that. When he uses the word "histoire" to mean the signified or narrative content, he reserves the phrase "le discours du récit" to mean the signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text itself, thereby implying that "le récit" is abstract or "medium-free," as Shlomith Rimmon explains, and that "the discours is the telling of the récit in language, addressed by a narrator to a reader or listener."[5] The translation by Jane E. Lewin of Genette's terms in Narrative Discourse from the original portion of Figures III is a bit misleading, since she does not distinguish between récit and discours du récit, but uses the English noun "narrative" to cover both.[6] Said differently, Genette distinguishes between histoire and récit in much the same way as the formalists do between "story" and "plot," but since he also wants to draw a dividing line between the re-arranged "plot" in its medium-free state and in its actual state as realized in language, he prefers, as far as we can deduce from Figures III, to combine histoire and récit as two sides of the same ephemeral coin, and to reserve discours du récit to mean the actual address by a narrator to a reader.[7]

To complicate matters further, Chatman also uses the terms "plot," "discourse," and "manifestation" in ways that differ slightly in meaning from Genette´s discours, récit, and narration. Chatman´s "plot" is essentially the same as the formalists´ abstracted plot, and it is defined as "story-as-discoursed[sic]" which exists "at a more general level than any particular objectification, any given movie, novel or whatever." More specifically, "the events in a story are turned into a plot by its discourse" (SD 43). Finally, "manifestation" does not refer to the actual novel (paper, print, cardboard, leather, etc.), but to the medium, that is, "language, music, stone, paint and canvas" which "actualizes the narrative" (SD 27). Thus, in his sketch of narrative structure, Chatman in fact works with five different concepts: story, plot, manifestation, discourse, and real object, of which the first three are abstract, and only discourse and real object are concrete. As already explained, Genette reserves the term *discours du récit* for the actual discourse and *narration* for the entire narrational situation which involves the narrator/reader relationship.

For our present purposes, the main focus will be on the first level of narrative structure, that is, the transposable story or narrative content (as defined by Chatman), and on some aspects of the narrative discourse (not as defined by Chatman, but as originally formulated by Genette as *discours du récit* which includes both the abstracted plot and the actual discourse). Finally, we will conclude this chapter with some comments on the narrative act or the relationship between narrator and reader (or what Genette refers to as *narration*).

It may be argued that instead of borrowing terms and modifying concepts from various narratologies, one could have employed Genette's comprehensive system in its entirety, since his particular division of narrative structure is the main theoretical source of the present study. But because Genette's main focus in *Figures III* is on *discours* and *récit* rather than on *histoire*, parts of Chatman's detailed exposition of story-elements will be used as points of reference. While adopting Chatman's division of story-elements into events and existents, we will thus initially leave out any discussion of "plot," "narrative time," and "discourse space" which he otherwise includes as subdivisions under the "story" heading.

In this thesis, three of these terms will be employed with the following meanings: STORY will refer to the transposable story or narrative content; NARRATIVE DISCOURSE will include the abstracted plot and actual discourse; and NARRATIVE ACT will signify the relationship between narrator, reader, and medium (text).

2. Historical References (HIST. REF.): Definitions

In keeping with Barthes´ method of reading a text in slow motion, we will at times find it useful to divide our texts into lexias or brief, contiguous fragments. The lexias will be of various lengths and their dimensions will depend on "la densité des connotations, qui est variable selon les moments du texte: on veut simplement qu´à chaque lexie il n´y ait au plus que trois ou quatre sens à énumérer."[8] Each lexia can in turn be decoded, and for this purpose Barthes lists five codes: the hermeneutic, the semic, the symbolic, the proairetic, and the cultural. The cultural code is of specific interest to us, since all historical references would be in this category. Barthes defines the cultural code(s) as:

> les citations d´une science ou d´une sagesse; en relevant ces codes, on se bornera à indiquer le type de savoir (physique, physiologique, médical, psychologique, littéraire, historique, etc.) qui est cité, sans jamais aller jusqu´à construire--ou reconstruire--la culture qu´ils articulent.[9]

In order for us to determine historical themes or themes that are of interest in a historical context, we will therefore look for possible connections that might exist between the various encoding of lexias that contain historical references (this search for clues is, incidentally, what Pynchon calls Paranoia). Although being two distinct approaches to a text, the formalist-structuralist and the decoding methods are not mutually exclusive, as the former helps the critic to describe the work and the latter helps her to interpret it. Logically speaking, the decoding process can only take place at the narrative discourse level and not at the level of the abstracted story. However, it is possible to cite lexias from the text (the narrative discourse) in order to illustrate aspects of story-existents and story-events, as we intend to do in the following discussion of story-components in Waverley. The two approaches will not be employed in sequence, but will be used simultaneously as complementary tools.

Historical references can be identified according to the following guidelines:

I. Verifiable items of the past:
   dates ("1745")
   names ("Bonnie Prince Charlie," "Culloden," "Jacobites")
   documents ("Act of Settlement"[1701])

documented events ("Glorious Revolution" [1688])

II. Items of anecdotal character, that is, items based on facts but for which generally accepted and logical conclusions have been deduced or "made." Example: Colonel Gardiner was "a good Christian and gallant man."[10] These items should not be confused with myths that may or may not be founded on verifiable items.

III. History codes. Inferences and generalizations about items, or clusters of items from the past. Historical references of this kind do not refer to verifiable items themselves, but to codes or texts of a derivative nature dealing with the past:

i) formal history codes or history books (scholarly) Example: "Hibbert´s Philosophy of Apparitions, Edinburgh, 1824." (W 496). Typically most of these items are placed in the author´s notes, a device also used by Tournier in Le Roi des Aulnes;

ii) artistic narrative codes; information obtained through legends, ballads, paintings, etc. Example: "Mac-Farlane´s buat" or "Lantern," "The clan of Mac-Farlane, occupying the fastnesses of the western side of Loch Lomond, were great depredators on the Low Country; and as their excursions were made usually by night, the moon was proverbially called their lantern. Their celebrated pibroch of Hoggil nam Bo, which is the name of their gathering tune, intimates similar practices..." (quote from the pibroch follows) (W 502);

iii) codes of cultural artifacts; information obtained from isolated objects (not from a narrative context) such as buildings, gardens, costumes. Example: "There is no particular mansion described under the name of Tully-Veolan; but the peculiarities of the description occur in various old Scottish seats....The author has, however, been informed, that the House of Grandtully resembles that of the Baron of Bradwardine" (W 79)

iv) informal history codes (common knowledge derived from various, indeterminate sources).

IV. Fictional items analogous to verifiable items.

i) Explicitly:

Example: "For a little space...there was exhibited a changing...appearance of waving tartans...and of banners displaying the proud gathering word of Clanronald, Ganion Coheriga...; Loch-Sloy, the watchword of the Mac-Farlanes; Forth, fortune, and fill the fetters, the motto of the Marquis of Tullibardine...." (only the latter Marquis is an historical character) (W

321).

ii) Implicitly:

Example: "...an excursion of the Baronet in his coach-and-six, with four attendants in rich liveries, to make a visit..." (W 41.)

Example: "As they entered the village of Cairnvreckan, they speedily distinguished the smith's house. Being also a public, it was two storeys high, and proudly reared its crest, covered with grey slate, above the thatched hovels by which it was surrounded...." (W 235).

These are the references which editors, scholars, and critical readers study for their historical probability. In fact, the latter example depicting a fictitious village has been confirmed by the editor as representing a real village in Scotland.

3. Story

Within the context of the historical novel, the following story components will be considered:

EXISTENTS: milieu, setting, character

EVENTS: causality, actions, happenings.

Although Chatman discusses many additional components in his deductive theory, he does not have a separate entry that covers the aspect of milieu. We believe, as will be discussed below, that in regard to the historical novel, milieu is a primary aspect that determines the particular choice of setting and characters rather than vice versa. "Milieu" is in this sense intricately connected with the concept of verisimilitude (vraisemblance) which Chatman discusses as an aspect of story-events.

Going back to the idea that history and texts are analogous in the sense that they both can be seen as end products of processes, the aspects of documentation (the building blocks or stuff of both history and fiction) and progress (linear progression, evolutionary growth, development) can be redefined in terms of narrative story components. Many historical references with empirical status can, moreover, be classified as belonging to setting and character (both existents), whereas the dynamics of historical progress or change are most often found in the elements of causality, actions, and happenings (events).

3.1 Existents

Definition: "the dimension of...story-existents is space" (SD 96).

In a text where the transposable story is the one and only reason for its existence, milieu and setting play secondary roles to events and agents. Fairy tales, folk tales and myths, for instance, belong to this category. To use Robert Kellogg´s and Robert Scholes´ early typology of narratives (from 1966), we may say that the closer the text is to being a purely fictional story (mythos), the further away the text is from being empirical (mimetic, historical).[11] It is clear that one of the things that makes a text historical is the specificity of the existents that fill up its space, and consequently the story-line is in this respect of secondary importance. The events evolving from the love story between Pyotr Andreyich and the Captain's daughter in Pushkin's novella, or the sinister events that separate the betrothed in Manzoni's novel do not in themselves make the works specifically historical. Likewise, Waverley's education (Bildung) and physical journey per se do not contain the historicity that we identify with the novel as a whole. On the one hand, the historical references attached to the story-existents are of the utmost importance in the historical novel. But, on the other hand, some criteria must be established to determine at which point the story-existents change qualitatively from being mere costumes to being positively historical.

Interestingly enough, story-existents in postmodernist literature, regardless of whether they contain historical references or not, are very important as well, since the story-dynamics (or text-dynamics) depend largely on descriptions rather than on events. This "new realism" that is so characteristic of certain types of postmodernism (especially metafiction, surfiction, and nonfiction) is a phenomenon which Scholes and Kellogg did not consider in their 1966 analysis. Hence the seeming paradox of some texts being purely fictional and self-referential while at the same time being highly concrete and "real." Barthes explains that in modern realism (beginning with Flaubert and Michelet) the concrete details bypass the signified, "le ´détail concret´ est constitué par la collusion *directe* d´un référent et d´un signifiant; le signifié est expulsé du signe...."[12] Fredric Jameson has suggested that this kind of art does not allow for the completion of "the hermeneutic gesture,"[13] and it therefore creates, we may add, the uncanny effect that is so disturbing to the reader and especially to the admirer of traditional historical fiction.

3.11 Milieu

(mi-lieu, in the midst of a place)

The term "milieu" was, according to Erich Auerbach, first used in the sociological sense by Balzac in his *Avant-propos* (1842) to the *Comédie humaine*.[14] Transferred from biology and modified by the philosophical principle of "*unité de composition*" (as expounded by Leibnitz, Buffon and Charles Bonnet), the concept of milieu was applied by Balzac to the sphere of human social environment:

> La Société ne fait-elle pas de l´homme, suivant les milieux où son action se déploie, autant d´hommes différents qu´il y a de variétés en zoologie?[15]

To distinguish milieu from setting, it is important to stress the origin of the former term. Milieu is at once man´s natural and social environment, the particular surroundings that make a group of people "typical" and distinct from other people in other milieux, and in a historical context, at other times. Setting, on the other hand, refers to a background or context that has been constructed in order to enhance a primary object, such as a jewel, a theatrical performance, or a story. The background or setting for Scheherazade's stories is thus much more pertinent than is the heroine's biological, social, or historical milieu.

The settings in Waverley are not always faithful renditions of local colour, but are instead sometimes carefully constructed stage settings made to enhance a particular mood or dramatic event. The various milieux, however, are intended to represent environments analogous to real society. The main characters are placed in very different milieux, and thus they represent the various milieux.

This is not to say that a portrayed milieu is an actual rendition and not an artificial construction of sorts. The element of construction should not be underestimated, although the social and historical milieux in the Waverley novels and La Comédie humaine are much closer to actual circumstances in real life than are the settings in ,say, fairy tales. Thus the meaning of "typical" must be clearly defined. It is not correct, for example, to call idiosyncratic characters, such as Edward Waverley, Baron Bradwardine, Everard Waverley, Fergus MacIvor or Donald Bean

Lean, typical or stereotypical. Rather, these characters are all a bit unusual or exaggerated in relation to the average person from a given milieu, but it is exactly because of their deviations from the mean that their respective milieux stand out as being typical. Balzac, himself, was keenly aware of his role, not as a passive observer, but as a social scientist who analysed and reconstructed different milieux and characters. In order to create a believable history of French society, he knew that one had to rely more on le vraisemblable than on le vrai:

> En dressant l'inventaire des vices et des vertus, en rassemblant les principaux faits des passions, en peignant les caractères, en choisissant les événements principaux de la Société, en composant des types par la réunion des traits de plusieurs caractères homogènes, peut-être pouvais-je arriver à écrire l'histoire oubliée par tant d'historiens, celle des moeurs. (emphasis added)[16]

In this respect, Balzac agreed with Scott, who of course was his model:

> ...for the purpose of preserving some idea of the ancient manners of which I have witnessed the almost total extinction, I have embodied in imaginary scenes, and ascribed to fictitious characters, a part of the incidents which I then received from those who were actors in them. Indeed, the most romantic parts of this narrative are precisely those which have a foundation in fact. (W 492-93)

The milieux in Waverley, as in Balzac's novels, are thus designed from some a priori ideas of how the mechanism of a given society functions and how the movement of history is perceived. The so-called objectivity or realism that Lukács found in the works by these two novelists is, in other words, the recognition of patterns of certain constructed milieux and types that are congruent with the historical-materialist interpretation of reality in general and of certain societies in particular.

In a strictly narratological sense, that is, in a sense that does not necessarily use the nineteenth-century realistic novel as the norm, milieu is a part of setting, the ground upon which the figure (character) is projected, to use Chatman's Gestalt-metaphor (SD 138). But since the conventions of the realistic phase of the novel with its constructed milieux have come to dominate the historical novel, it is necessary to employ two sets of categories in order to describe the figure-ground relationship. On the one hand, we have the social and historical types that are projected on certain milieux, and at the same time these types are characters or figures projected on certain settings. It should be added that we are here only considering main types and characters and not minor ones, named or unnamed, that are simply part of the ground (milieux-setting). Sir Everard Waverley is thus a main representative of his milieu and a main character, whereas Mr. Ebenezer Cruickshanks of the Seven-branched Golden Candlestick is clearly part of the Lowland village milieu and a minor setting-character.

Milieux descriptions are numerous in Waverley and consist largely of what Robert Liddell would call "utilitarian" settings.[17] Although Scott wished to tell the story of a societal change that resulted in the vanishing of an entire culture, he did not make the mistake of enacting a simple game that would clearly identify the two conflicting parties. Political conflicts, alliances, and interests are never easy to sort out, and the case of the Jacobites' desperate insurrection of 1745 is no exception. Thus, instead of relating the story in terms of two contrasting milieux--the Highlanders versus the English--Scott describes at least four major important milieux and several sub-milieux.

First of all, Scott outlines modern England in sketches throughout the book presumably as he perceived it in 1805 when he commenced writing the novel. Edward Waverley's ambitious father Richard Waverley is a man of this milieu, not an average man, but someone whose very weakness, minor corruption and dishonorable end reveal the workings of this particular, but not necessarily corrupt, milieu. The space surrounding Richard is not geographically defined, neither is it sociologically typical of his class and political orientation. Instead, he is amidst the story space which he shares with characters as various as the honorable (historical) Colonel Gardiner, the English soldier (fictitious) Colonel Talbot, the pragmatic "bibliopolist" and publisher Jonathan Grubbet of Little Britain in London, the latter being a businessman rather than a soft-hearted idealist:

> ´Well meant,´ he said, ´and learned, doubtless; but the time had gone by. Printed on small pica it would run to eight hundred pages, and could never pay. Begged therefore to be excused...´(W 69)

Last but not least, Richard´s life is inextricably bound up with the internal political intrigues of the British cabinet.

The second milieu, which stands out, is the old-fashioned English nobility, typified by Sir Everard Waverley´s out-dated traditions, Jacobite sympathies, Tory commitment, and strong High Anglican ties. The contrast between the modern, complex life in the capital and the traditional, slow-paced life of Waverley-Honour where the past is venerated for its own sake is cleverly reflected in the different modes of public communication practiced at this time:

> Although these events followed each other so closely that the sagacity of the editor of a modern newspaper would have presaged the last two even while he announced the first, yet they came upon sir Everard gradually, and drop by drop, as it were, distilled through the cool and procrastinating alembic of Dyer´s Weekly Letter. For it may be observed in passing, that instead of those mail-coaches, by means of which every mechanic at his sixpenny club may nightly learn from twenty contradictory channels the yesterday´s news of the capital, a weekly post brought, in those days, to Waverley-Honour, A Weekly Intelligencer, which, after it had gratified Sir Everard´s curiosity, his sister´s, and that of his aged butler, was regularly transferred from the Hall to the Rectory, from the Rectory to Squire Stubbs´ at the Grange, from the Squire to the Baronet´s

> steward at his neat white house on the heath, from the steward to the bailiff, and from him through a huge circle of honest dames and gaffers, by whose hard and horny hands it was generally worn to pieces in about a month after its arrival. (W 39)

Of the Scottish spaces described, the complex Lowland milieu with its mixture of "civilized" manors--Baron Bradwardine´s Tully-Veolan being one--and rustic villages is probably closest to Scott´s own experience, while the exotic culture of the Highlanders remains the romantic centrepiece of the novel. The robber Donald Bean Lean in his absurd-looking costume and his entourage of banditti of no fixed abode make up one of the sub-milieux that connects the various aspects of Scottish political and economic life. Drawing on the familiar literary banquet motif (chapter 11), Scott shows in one scene the complexities of Scottish life that produced Presbyterianism and that at the same time maintained a strong prejudice towards the English, or "rats of Hanover" (W 98) and strong ties with a Catholic, pre-industrial past from which the Bonnie Prince Charles emerged like a fairy tale prince. The four invited guests at Baron Bradwardine´s table are all gentlemen from various walks of Scottish country life, and their sympathies are firmly on the side of the Tory tradition, the Episcopal Church of Scotland (closer to the High Anglican and the Catholic churches than to the "whiggamor" Presbyterian church), and absolute monarchy (Jacobitism). Edward Waverley, also a guest and at this point a captain in the English army, is at first politely accepted. As the evening wears on, however, and the manners wear off, thanks to the generous rounds of claret, the "Demon of Politics" begins to rear its ugly head, and soon the Scottish gentlemen openly express their deep-rooted and nearly irrational hatred towards anything English. What Scott shows is not simple xenophobia and understandable dislike of an imperialist neighbor nation, but the insecurity and anger of people who see their traditions and culture slowly being undermined by a new world peopled by bankers, merchants, and a monarch (William III) who cannot speak English, let alone Scottish.

The heraldic Bear of Bradwardine's house functions as a convenient symbol in this cultural-political context. Besides being visible everywhere on the baron's estate as part of the architectural ornamentation, the rampant Blessed Bear of Bradwardine also figures as a curious goblet with nearly sacred dimensions. At the banquet table, the Bear performs more than its menial duty. As a goblet, it forms part of the utilitarian setting. As a bear-shape it represents the overwhelming preoccupation with heraldry and traditions that no longer have any practical function but is observed out of pure nostalgia (in this respect the bear symbol parallels the baron's obsession with his feudal obligations to the exiled Prince, "*pro servitio detrahendi, seu exuendi, caligas regis post battalliam*" (W 344)[18], that is anachronistic and absurd; since the Prince does not wear boots but brogues.) The theme of anachronism points thus towards the more general theme of incongruity. Finally, as a family heirloom with a splendid and romantic history involving abbots and valiant ancestors, the goblet and cup take on "mystical and supernatural" qualities that date back to "old and Catholic times" (W 93).

In summary, this short banquet scene seems to have been constructed specifically for the purpose of describing a particular historical milieu. It would be missing the point entirely to name the scene with all its decor and manners simply as a part of the setting for the unfolding action, since the banquet is undramatic and uneventful in itself. Rather, the formal civilized dinner at the manor only becomes significant when juxtaposed with the subsequent unrefined drinking party at the dirty and damp village inn where repressed feelings come to light. In contrast to texts of nostalgia which show things simply as they were, this scene shows not quite how things really were but only certain characteristics that we may call historical: the political and cultural tensions, differences and loyalties at a synchronic level (the simultaneous presence of the six gentleman) as well as the political and historical situation, at a diachronic level, represented by the various encodings of the bear-shaped goblet. As mentioned above, the goblet is at once a relic from ancient times when romance reigned over reason; a symbol of the present time (1745) when anachronistic sentiments persist and contribute to the survival of the Jacobite cause; and finally a vessel that, by its natural function, contributes to the ensuing drunken brawl and revealed antagonism towards the English. In this last respect, the heated, irrational argument foreshadows the passionate but doomed insurrection led by the wild and fanatic Highlanders. Moreover, the mystical qualities of the bear-goblet connote the romantic aspects of the Highland culture in general as well as the romantic predisposition of Edward Waverley, the protagonist. The various connotations associated with the goblet are as follows: golden goblet, a utilitarian object

(cultural code: HIST.REF. type IV, ii)
(proairetic code: utilitarian object)
(semic code: wealth)
(symbolic code: ideal world)

vessel for potent alcohol (semic code: irrationality)

bear-shaped object (cultural code: heraldry)
(symbolic code: anachronism/incongruity)

relic from old times (cultural code: ancient history [HIST. REF. type III, iv], chivalry, Catholic times)
(semic code: romance)

Blessed Bear of Bradwardine, originally a gift, invested with mystical qualities, from an abbot to a valiant ancestor
(symbolic code: superstition/incongruity)

It should be noted that in this passage (chapter 11), which so strongly suggests a historical milieu, there are few historical references of the types I, II, and III (except when references are made to "ancient times" within the narrative). Instead the atmosphere is historical by virtue of its evocation of a moment that has been shown to be different but nevertheless inseparable from the past and the future. In this manner, the concept of historical change (not necessarily for the better) has been introduced without much action, but with the help of themes evoked by the semic and symbolic codes (superstition, romance, passion versus reason). Most interesting is the theme of anachronism/incongruity, however, which indirectly exposes Scott´s vantage point of 1805, the year he began to write the novel. In contrast to his characters, Scott of course knew the outcome of the insurrection of ´45´ and could "see" the signs of failure throughout his research and re-telling. The suggestion that the Baron was motivated to act for reasons that were outdated could thus best be made by a historian who sought to explain the present by means of a constructed past.

3.12 Setting

Definition: "The setting ´sets the character off´ in the usual figurative sense of the expression; it is the place and collection of objects ´against which´ his actions and passions appropriately emerge." (SD 138-39)

Thematic setting:

Backdrops for individual acts should be, as mentioned, shaped in accordance with the various milieux described. However, sometimes the setting, although still appropriate to the milieu, is constructed especially for the purpose of enhancing a predominant theme or an important story-event.

We have already noted how the bear-goblet in Waverley pointed to the themes of romance, irrationality, idealism, and anachronism/incongruity. In other scenes these themes have been foregrounded and have thus momentarily obscured the sense of historical milieu. In Waverley the non-historical settings are infrequent, and because they do not break the illusion of probability, they do not distract from the overall historical atmosphere, as they do in Arnim's Die Kronenwächter, for instance.

The scene with Edward Waverley and Flora Mac-Ivor by the waterfall at Glennaquoich (chapter 22) provides a good example of a natural setting which foregrounds the romantic idealism that is at the root of Flora's character, that is dormant in Edward's character, and that is the driving force in the Jacobite Cause. From a junction of two brooks, one larger and placid, "apparently without any change or elevation of character," the other lesser, "rapid and furious, issuing from between precipices, like a maniac from his confinement, all foam and uproar," Edward is guided into a glen which "seemed to open into the land of romance" (W 174-75). After having passed strange-looking rocks and crossed a rustic bridge consisting of two pine trunks suspended over a deep and dangerous gorge, Edward finds himself facing a breathtaking and beautiful spectacle that surpasses the wildest chimeras of his literary relation, Don Quixote. Not only is the setting awesome and unpredictable, but the Highland Flora is dark, beautiful, intelligent and alien, while her "Battle song" performed with a Scottish harp introduces "a wild and peculiar tone which harmonizes well with the distant waterfall" (W 178). In contrast to the flawed vision of Don Quixote, Edward´s vision is clear and undistorted, since the falls and its surroundings are real and Flora´s behaviour and appearance are in character. However, the seeds of romantic fantasies sown in his uncle´s library early in Edward´s childhood receive on this occasion in the Highlands a large dose of external stimulation that instantly makes his latent idealism blossom fully. Scott´s play on the quixotic motifs is not accidental, of course. The motifs are used to enhance the understanding of not only the uncompromising culture and destiny of the Highlanders (represented here by Flora) but also certain traits in revolutionary characters driven by romantic impulse (represented by Edward). Where Don Quixote´s fertile imagination shapes his perception of the real world, Edward´s new, exotic, but real surroundings spellbind and manipulate his powers of reasoning. Both romantic types, incidentally, are frequently seen among the avant-garde of ideological causes. Further discussion of the references to Don Quixote will follow in the section dealing with discourse.

As so often in this novel, Scott shows that life is stranger than fiction. In his notes, Scott apologizes for the theatricality of the scene and explains that the description of the waterfall is taken from an actual site and that Flora's affected appearance is in accordance with her early French education (her parents were among the Jacobites attached to the "court" of the exiled Old Pretender, the son of the Roman Catholic James II (W 502). The historical references in this scene are thus associated with the themes of mania and placidity:

waterfall	(cultural code: HIST.REF. type III,iii and HIST. REF. type IV,i)
cascade	(semic code: wildness, mania, enchantment, world of romance, irresistible movement) (symbolic code: battle, intense passion)
Battle Song	(cultural code: ancient history) (semic code: world of romance)
Flora's performance and appearance	(symbolic code: ideal world [Flora is a goddess to Edward]) (semic code: beauty, moral and emotional strength, danger)
"*like* a knight of romance" and "this... glen...*seemed* to open into the land of romance"	(cultural code: ancient history)

(cultural code: chivalric romance)

(cultural code: intertextuality [Cervantes])

Once more historical references are mainly restricted to types III and IV, thus avoiding actual verifiable data of types I and II.

Extratextual historical setting and Story-setting:

Scott proceeds cautiously in regard to settings that are historical and named, such as the decisive battle of Culloden (April 16, 1746) towards the end of the novel (Chapter 63). Unlike Cooper in Lionel Lincoln, Scott avoids confronting the reader with a complete battle scene rich in detail. Instead he channels the information through Waverly, not directly, since he at this point had deserted the rebel army, but indirectly through the general rumour mill:

> Waverley...reached the borders of Scotland. Here he heard the tidings of the decisive battle of Culloden. It was no more than he had long expected.... (emphasis added) (W 429)

With only a single reference of type I,i to the battle, Scott thus relies on his reader's knowledge of the facts as these may have been derived from history books, other secondary material, or even from memory. From this moment on, the narrative departs entirely from the historical descriptions, and the dénouement concentrates on the finishing touches of Waverley's education and the end of the Jacobite uprising, symbolized by Fergus' execution and

Flora's retreat to a convent (story-setting).

Historical-thematic setting:

In order that the Waverley-romance should not overshadow the importance of the historical drama at Culloden, Scott has in previous passages prepared the reader and employed yet a fourth setting-device which we may call historical-thematic. Skirmishes at Carberry Hill, Preston, and Clifton are described (Chapters 45, 47, and 59) with settings that heighten the "manic" drama and anticipate the inevitable disaster as well as Waverley's maturation. Historical references of types I and II are few in number, and information (fictional or true) pertaining to the Prince is inconsequential. Moreover, well-known facts are hinted at but not elaborated on, by means of narratorial interjections, such as:

> The Highland army, which now occupied the eastern end of the wide plain, or stubble, so often referred to.... (W 338)

and

> The rest is well known....(W 339)

Also, in the thick of the battle at Preston, there is a depiction of the historical Colonel Gardiner's death, lifted, according to Scott's own footnote, from a formal biography by a certain P. Doddridge (HIST. REF. type III, i). The incident does not function as a story-event per se, but forms a part of the historical setting. Thematically, the scene serves as a foreshadowing of the young man's recognition of his own folly or spellbound state of mind, as the last moments of the dying English Colonel are spent in silent recognition of Waverley who is still uncertain of his loyalties. Furthermore, the reference to the absurd iron gun drawn by a string of Highland ponies is historically correct according to another note by Scott, but at the same time the reference reinforces the already established themes of superstition and incongruity/anachronism (W 325, 504).

3.13 Characters as Indicators and Agents

The idea that "round" or fully developed characters are preferable to "flat" characters or "types" has had a short but influential presence in the long history of literature. When E.M. Forster[19] coined the term "flat" in 1927, he cast a shadow over many characters that appear in world literature, oral or written, eastern or western, popular or refined, ancient or modern, sacred or secular. The fact is that few literary characters are much more than tokens or indicators of something other than themselves. In traditional historical fiction this is especially true, as it is in postmodernist literature, albeit for different reasons. In his discussion of "flat" characters in historical fiction, Harry E. Shaw draws our attention to the "individualist" and the "typicalist" approaches to mimetic literature.[20] Historical processes and inwardly complex human beings, he argues, hardly ever co-exist in one work.

Shaw also distinguishes between internal and external probability in the standard historical novel, using the character of Edward Waverley as an example of the former and Fergus Mac-Ivor as an example of a combination of the two. Internal probability pays allegiance to the internal structure of the plot, while external probability is primarily faithful to the external historical world. Inspired by the above suggestions and by our own typology of setting, we propose four different features pertaining to characters in historical fiction:

A. Index of milieu

B. Index of theme

C. Index of historical items

D. Agent of plot

X. Elusion of A, B, C, and D (structural catalyst)

Theoretically all four features may be present in one character, but in practical terms the combination of two or three is most common. Flora Mac-Ivor, for example, is a token of the specific genteel Highland milieu (A), an indicator of the themes of passion, strength, exoticism (B), and finally a minor agent in the romantic plot to "spellbind" (sexually and ideologically) Waverley (D). In Flora's case B is the predominant feature.

While external probability pertains to the character of Fergus, we prefer to avoid comparing fictional narrative aspects with the so-called real world. Instead, we are more interested in finding out how the impression of historical reality is conveyed and made meaningful through the narrative structure. From a formalist point of view, the characters cannot be extricated from the structural whole and examined as if they were imitations of "probable" people. For the same reason, we find that Lukács' distinction between "the world-historical individuals" and "middle-of-the-road heroes" or "middlings"[21] is of little use, as it does not throw any light on the relationship between the characters, the literary construction, and the meaning one may derive from the totality of the work, including aspects at the level of narrative discourse and the narrative act. Hermann Göring, for example, would be a "world-historical individual" in the Hegelian sense, although his presence as "L'Ogre de Rominten" in Le Roi des Aulnes could hardly be made meaningful in these terms.

Still, the notion of a "middling" is interesting whether one employs it as a sociological term or as a formalist term. A "middling," first of all, is not an imitation of a social type, but an artificial construction similar to a "mean citizen" composed of statistics. Lukács adheres to this definition of the term. Used in the formalist sense, the "middling"--like Edward Waverley--can be seen as a story-existent (X) (see above table of character features) that eludes all four features as outlined. At first glance, this proposition may seem paradoxical, if not illogical.

Waverley~~'s~~ name clearly denotes not only a specific character with a physical, mental, and social identity, but also an agent in the plot. Yet, the character eludes the very features to which his name points. Waverley seems to act, but is in fact moved or shifted by events or other characters. His character also seems to be an indicator of a certain milieu--after all, he was brought up by his uncle whose milieu is clearly defined--but again his name is at various points in the narrative tied to each of the different milieux, and yet at the same time he is shown to be an outsider. When he finally matures, settles, and becomes integrated into society, as is befitting for a hero in a Bildungsroman, Waverley has in fact only come full circle back to his/its original status as a title (Waverley; or, ´tis Sixty Years Since) about which the narrator discourses in "Chapter First" (W 34). The conjunction "or" is as telling as the stem of the invented name Waverley, and it refers directly to the artificiality and elusiveness of this non-character.

Furthermore, the renegade figure in Cooper´s romances[22] has a lot in common with Scott´s middling as well as with Faulkner´s self-made man, Pynchon´s schlemihl, and Tournier´s ogre. It is our contention that although one could argue that the archetypal wanderer is a common denominator, one could equally argue that the function of these elusive protagonists may be found at the metafictional level where they serve as structural catalysts. We will return to this subject in our discussion of the comic hero in self-referential literature (Chapter V, 1.3). Waverley as a title will be dealt with in section four of this chapter (under the heading ´Narrative Discourse´).

Historical Characters:

Historical figures are brought into the fictional world, not vice versa. As part of the author-reader contract, however, the author creates the illusion of a portrait of the real world where the fictional characters seem to exist in the same ontological space as the historical figures. By giving the historical characters minor roles and infrequent appearances--as Scott, Manzoni, and Pushkin did--the author avoids the problems that would arise from having to deal with the many known factual aspects of the historical figures. If one introduces too much of the historical figure, the fictional aspects of the story would inevitably have to be molded to fit around the factual aspects. These factual aspects may well be irrelevant or even contradictory to the historical process that the writer wants to portray, and thus they would interfere with the themes that help to establish the historical portrayal. Vigny´s Cinq-Mars is an example in which the historical characters are predominant, so in order to maintain a believable story, Vigny has been "forced" to alter factual aspects of the historical figures. The result might be a coherent story, but untrue history.

Cooper, at the other extreme, brings many historical figures and data into his Lionel Lincoln with different results. The factual aspects in their minute details "take over," making it impossible for the story to be molded into an aesthetic whole. His historical novel, in contrast to his romances, may be an accurate account of a historical event, but it is not an interesting story. In other words, whenever the feature C (Index of historical items) is present in a character, the entire narrative structure is in danger of collapsing, and destroying the very meaning it was supposed to establish.

3.2 Events

Definition: "Events...are changes of state" (SD 44)

or

> "Motifs which change the situation are dynamic motifs...The actions and behaviour of the main characters are typically dynamic motifs"
>
> (Boris Tomashevsky)[23]

Whether a work contains a structure or not, "our minds inveterately seek structure, and they will provide it if necessary," argues Chatman (SD 45). The idea that the properties of an object are inseparable from the observing subject is not an exclusively literary hypothesis, but a proposition scientists and philosophers have worked with as a result of the discoveries made in modern physics, especially in quantum mechanics. Pynchon, with his training in engineering and obsession with literary forms, has of course capitalized on this idea through his device of the paranoid quest. In traditional realistic fiction, however, narrative structure is an objective entity that consists of strings of narrative elements, related through sequence, causality, or contingency (the latter term is used in its philosophical sense: "depending for its existence, occurrence, character, etc. on something not yet certain" [SD 44]). We will in the following employ the term "causality," as it refers directly to the cause-effect relationship between events.

3.21 Causality, Kernels, and Satellites

To describe causality in Waverley is to produce a list of events that at the level of story (not discourse) are connected sequentially and causally. I make this observation in order to establish where in the chain of story-events the historical references appear and how important these references are to the development of the story. To list every event would be impossible in practical terms and meaningless in analytical terms, since analysis is, by definition, inseparable from reduction. For this purpose, Tomashevsky distinguishes between "dynamic motifs" and "static motifs," while Barthes distinguishes between fonctions cardinales (or noyaux) and catalyses.[24] Chatman translates the latter two as "kernels" and "satellites" (SD

53-55). Motifs "which do not change the situation are static," explains Tomashevsky, and "typically static motifs...[are]...description of nature, local color, furnishings, the characters, their personalities, and so on." Whereas "dynamic motifs are central to the story and therefore often "bound," static motifs can be either "bound" or "free."[25]

In addition to the two main functions, *noyaux* and *catalyses*, Barthes lists two other narrative functions, "les Indices," which are labelled "les indices proprement dits" and "les informants," respectively. The former group, *indices proprement dits*, refer to personality traits, feelings, or atmosphere, whereas the second group, *informants*, serve to identify elements in terms of space and time. In the previous sections on setting and characters, we employed both types of *Indices*, paying special attention to *informants* of historical dimensions (historical references). To summarize, Tomashevsky´s "dynamic motifs" correspond to Barthes´ *noyaux*, while "static motifs" correspond to *catalyses*, *indices*, and *informants*, the latter three also referred to as *expansions*. Chatman agrees with the other two theorists that although the "static motifs," the *expansions*, or the satellites can be omitted without destroying the essential story, they are nevertheless functional and cannot be deleted without altering the discourse.[26]

As we shall see, there are two "stories" told simultaneously in Waverley. One consists mostly of kernels and relates a story that is essentially free of historical references (the romance), while the other is made up of some kernels but mostly of satellites weighted with historical references (the hi/story). Both are based on the principle of causality. Although the pure story and the hi/story take place simultaneously within the narrative, they are sometimes acted out apart from each other, and at some points they intercept and share the same story-space.

3.22 The Romance and the Hi/story

After an introductory chapter in which the narrator discusses the format and purpose of his work, the story proper (the romance) begins, not with Waverley´s departure from his uncle´s estate in 1745, but with a retrospective glance at the original problem that sets off the entire quest. The problem is one of the oldest and most familiar, that of an aging but wealthy bachelor´s search for an heir. As with all kernel situations, several possibilities lie open for the story line to continue. Who shall it be, Sir Everard ponders in front of the tree of his genealogy (KERNEL, W 40), his younger brother Richard, a Whig, who is opportunistic, untalented and who has no sense of tradition or honour (SATELLITE, HIST.REF.)? The alternative is not much better, being a distant relative of the Waverleys of Highley Park, of the "degenerate scion" that through marriage is related to the Bradshawes, descendants of the regicide and Roundhead Oliver Bradshawe (SATELLITE, HIST.REF.). Neither choice being acceptable, the case remains open while the lawyer busies himself with mending his pen. After an hour of "cool reflection" a sign finally appears from the sky (KERNEL):

> Sir Everard looked at the attorney with some desire to issue the fiat, when the sun, emerging from behind a cloud, poured at once its chequered light through the stained window of the gloomy cabinet in which they were seated. The Baronet's eye, as he raised it to the splendors, fell right upon the central scutcheon, impressed with the same device which his ancestor was said to have borne in the field of Hastings; three ermines passant, argent, in a field azure, with its appropriate motto, Sans tache. 'May our name rather perish,' exclaimed Sir Everard, 'than that ancient and loyal symbol should be blended with the dishonoured insignia of a traitorous Roundhead' (W 40-41).

Being well aware of the comical dimension of the incident, Scott closes the scene, tongue in cheek:

> All this was the effect of the glimpse of a sunbeam, just sufficient to light Lawyer Clippurse to mend his pen. The pen was mended in vain. The attorney was dismissed...(W 41)

The honourable Baronet then decides to produce his own heir (KERNEL), but after an unsuccessful suit (KERNEL), the Baronet's little nephew Edward is sent to him as if by Providence (KERNEL). The boy, the neglected son of ambitious parents, has in turn during an outing with his nurse been drawn towards the splendid sight of the Baronet's gilded coach decorated with the symbolic "shield emblazoned with three ermines" (KERNEL). The rest is not history, but a predictable tale that after many obstacles and adventures (KERNELS) ends with young Edward's marriage to the suitable, domestic Rose whose name is worthy of the family motto. The end of this romance (chapters 70 and 71) is appropriately headed by the caption Dulce Domum (FINAL KERNEL, W 478).

Three things should be noted. First of all, the kernels described above make up the events of a traditional story, that is, a story which is closer to the mythic pole and therefore closer to the genre of romance than to the mimetic pole, according to Scholes' and Kellogg's system. Secondly, the romance does not aspire to be verisimilar or probable, as compared, for instance, with Manzoni's I promessi sposi. The "problem" with Scott's romance is the narrator's obviously facetious attitude which, in a few phrases, has turned the potentially serious romance into a comic tale with a well-defined beginning, middle and end. The implications of the comic effect will be discussed in the following section on narrative discourse. Finally, one should take notice of the adjoining satellites that along with the other expansions map out the territory of the historical drama which has no defined beginning or end, but which includes the Battle of Hastings, the Civil War, the execution of Charles I, the long-standing Tory-Whig conflict, and the new monarchy led by the Elector of Hanover, George I, and later by George II (W 37-40). Because of the story-logic, no explicit mention has been made of the

Jacobite uprising of 1745 at this point in chapter II, although references have been made to the periods before and after (1805). However, any informed reader, then and now, would from the second page of chapter I have placed the event on the invisible historical map:

> By fixing, then, the date of my story Sixty Years before the present 1st November 1805, I would have my readers understand, that they will meet in the following pages neither a romance of chivalry, nor a tale of modern manners. (W 34)

By keeping the event undefined and ambiguous, the narrator succeeds in maintaining its double status as both a historical event and a story-event.

Explained from the point of view of the pure story or romance, the event of '45' which we would call historical is an adventure into the enchanted forest, a special obstacle for the protagonist to overcome. In this "forest," Waverley not only loses his way in a physical sense, but loses his head in a figurative sense, due to the alien and spellbinding environment, including the beauty of Flora and the charisma of Fergus. The Prince in this context plays the role of Prince Charming, and the scene between the Young Chevalier, who is also known as the Adventurer, and Waverley forms the pivotal kernel of the romance:

> Unaccustomed to the address and manners of a polished court, in which Charles was eminently skillful, his words and his kindness penetrated the heart of our hero, and easily outweighed all prudential motives. To be thus personally solicited for assistance by a Prince, whose

> form and manners, as well as the spirit which he displayed in this singular enterprise, answered his ideas of a hero of romance: to be courted by him in the ancient halls of his paternal palace, recovered by the sword which he was already bending towards other conquests, gave Edward, in his own eyes, the dignity and importance which he had ceased to consider as his attributes. Rejected, slandered, and threatened upon the one side, he was irresistibly attracted to the cause which the prejudices of education, and the political principles of his family had already recommended as the most just. These thoughts rushed through his mind like a torrent, sweeping before them every consideration of an opposite tendency,--the time, besides, admitted of no deliberation,--and Waverley, kneeling to Charles Edward, devoted his heart and sword to the vindication of his rights. (W 294-95; chapter 40)

The scene is significant for several reasons. First, it forms the first climax of the romance, the point where Waverley ceases to waver and instead commits himself wholly to one cause. The second climax, incidentally, takes place after Waverley gets lost on the heath following the skirmish at Clifton (HIST.REF., chapter 60) and after the encounter with Fergus and the ominous ghost Bodach Glas. These latter incidents mark Edward's last direct involvement with things superstitious and the beginning of a life governed by reason, a life beyond the enchanted forest. The scene with the Prince and Waverley is also important because it does not form the climax of the historical drama involving the Jacobites. As already noted, the battle of Culloden, which is the climactic and final effort by the rebels, is fought off-stage without references to details and without the presence of the hero.

To summarize, we find in Waverley a curious blend of two stories. One is basically structured like a fairy tale with an initial situation, a quest, two climaxes and a final resolution of the quest under the motto Dulce Domum. The other is the presentation of history which we have erroneously named a drama. From studying the historical references in regard to actual events, dates, and names, we find that few are found in the kernels of the first story. Rather, most are found in the expansions of the kernels or in the author's footnotes and parenthetical statements. These historical landmarks do not demarcate a typical story after the model "The Rise and Fall of...," but they simply seem to dot a metaphorical time map that has no other boundaries than the present moment which, again, is only a temporary limit. Thus the battle of Culloden is better described as an important addition to the ongoing, cumulative stream of history than as a dramatic climax within a closed dramatic structure. From this point of view, the Marxist notion of progress as a result of the dialectic of contradictions is not an appropriate model to describe the form of hi/story in Waverley. While Tomashevsky's comparison between the "dialectical development of a story" and the "development of social-historical processes" is reasonable,[27] it does not necessarily follow that the structure given to history within the larger structure, say Waverley, is analogous to dialectical-materialism. Formal similarities between the text as a whole and a certain philosophical methodology do not automatically lead to ideological similarities. It is our opinion that Scott describes the hi/story in Waverley with a minimum of formal properties and with an unexplained acceptance of how things were and how things have changed. Scott's own image of the placid river as a natural, cumulative force (chap. 22) that moves steadily ahead is perhaps a more suitable metaphor than the dialectical model. The final Jacobite uprising of '45' is therefore, like the wild stream ending in a spectacular fall, a contribution of some significance to history, but in itself it is not a determining cause for historical change.

In returning to the pivotal scene with Bonnie Prince Charles, we can finally observe the technique with which Scott combines the two stories, the romance and the hi/story. By letting the Prince function as an agent (Prince Charming) in the romance and as a historical figure in a context which is not characterized as a well-defined story, the two functions are kept apart and, consequently, so are fiction and history. The same technique applies to the scenes in which the only other agent/historical figure, Colonel Gardiner, appears. The historical Gardiner and the fictitious Colonel Talbot together constitute a complementary pair that make up the proverbial fairy godfather, the latter as a voice and the former as a vision of the future representing reality and reason:

> In this lonely and secluded situation, without

> the advantage of company or conversation with men of cultivated minds, the arguments of Colonel Talbot often recurred to the mind of our hero. A still more anxious recollection haunted his slumbers--it was the dying look and gesture of Colonel Gardiner. (W 415; chapter 60)

Contrary to what the portrait-analogy implied, history has thus not been fictionalized, nor has it been enhanced or distorted. As the Author pointed out to Dryasdust in the Prefatory Letter to Peveril of the Peak (1822), the juxtaposition of incongruous elements may startle the observer/reader, but it may not necessarily confuse him/her in regard to the identification of the two elements in question:

> Author. But since we cannot rebuild the temple, a kiosk may be a pretty thing, may it not? Not quite correct in architecture, strictly and classically criticized; but presenting something uncommon to the eye, and something fantastic to the imagination, on which the spectator gazes with pleasure of the same description which arises from the perusal of an Eastern tale.[28]

In other words, Scott has left history intact with its hidden patterns, its unknown factors, its causes and ultimate destiny, while he has constructed an amusing tale that clearly stands out as an artifact.

4. Narrative Discourse: Waverley as Self-conscious Narrative

It has already been established that the basic requirement for a novel to be labelled "historical" is a predominance of historical references in disguised or undisguised form. Predominance is unfortunately a vague term, but still appropriate, since it is not possible to measure quantitatively how many references are necessary and where in the text they should be situated. Dominance simply refers to the cumulative effect of historical references which must be taken into consideration in the process of interpreting the work and establishing its meaning. It has also been determined in the preceding sections that the historical novel is first and foremost narrative fiction, as opposed to narrative history, and secondly narrative which in its story-content deals with historical material. It is important to stress the fictional aspect over the narrative, since any fictional work (lyric, drama, or narrative) must adhere to aesthetic principles that makes it a structural, finite whole to which any narrative aspects must be subordinated. Writers of narrative history, on the other hand, are under no obligations to form aesthetic wholes, although some historians like Gibbon have attempted to do so. Nevertheless, in order to fully understand the meaning of a historical novel, merely the story components in themselves and their plotting will not do, unless we restrict ourselves to quasi-historical novels, such as Madeleine de Scudéry's _Artamène; ou le Grand Cyrus_, which can be "interpreted" and understood without regard for the historical references. Beyond the story told, we must therefore examine the role of the teller himself and the manner in which he delivers his story, that is, to what degree he withholds or discloses information.

By choosing the point of view of a character who understands little of the narrator's global vision, the narrator can create a sense of mystery, of suspense, and of surprise, in short the aspects that make up a "good story." In Waverley, the mysterious visits to Donald's cave, the abduction by unknown friends or foes, the many misunderstandings and contrivances incomprehensible to the protagonist and the reader, are plot elements which are typical of romantic fiction as well as of modern "suspense novels," but obviously not of all historical novels. In fact, the form of the macrostructure, whether categorized in accordance with character, content, plot functions, or narrator-control, is irrelevant to the historical dimension of a historical novel.

Pointing to the etymological roots of narratio, Hayden White suggests in an article on historical narrative that "the term 'narrative' qualifies the term 'history' in an epistemological sense, not in an aesthetic sense."[29] The focus is not on story form, in other words, but on the knowledge supplied or withheld by the story-teller who is a "knower." Whether present or absent, the voice of the narrator is thus the distinguishing mark of historical narrative, as he is of all types of narrative.

At the same time, the role of the narrator in historical narrative and autobiography differs greatly from that in fiction, including the pseudofactual kind. In the first two types of narrative there is a single relationship between author, narrator, and point of view. As noted by Genette in his discussion of the narrating instance, the point of view is that of the author who is also the narrator:

narrator=author
narrating instance=writing
narratee=reader

In fiction, on the other hand, the role of the narrator is fictive and therefore ambiguous.[30] As far as historical fiction is concerned, the problematics of the narrator are further complicated by the fact that he mimics the voice of the historian or the autobiographer while at the same time maintaining his fictive status. In this regard, the narrator sometimes uses devices well known from pseudofactual fiction. It may seem paradoxical that the writer of a serious genre such as the historical novel should employ methods borrowed from a more playful kind of fiction, but in actuality there are few alternatives that would prove to be much more convincing. To plunge head first into the account without any preambles or precautionary remarks as to the substance of the tale would lead the reader to believe that she was being introduced to yet another romance--even though historical references would appear--especially since it had been customary to write historical narratives in the form of romances. Looking at the problem from a slightly different angle, we can see that the historical novelist did not want to convey the idea that fictional material was used for a factual end, as was the case with travel accounts, reportages or documentary accounts (as for example Defoe's A Journal of the Plague Years). The early writers of historical fiction intended to use fictional material to create an artificial construction that could coexist with factual material without trivializing history (as Arnim did) or creating actual shams.

As we have seen, several of the writers of historical novels during the first three decades of the nineteenth century felt it necessary to explain their predicament to their readers. In order not to give the impression of creating either factual illusions or pure fictions, writers like Scott, Arnim, Manzoni, Cooper, Vigny, and Mérimée would add dedications, prefaces, preliminary chapters and even direct dialogues with an imaginary reader, much in the vein of Cervantes' introduction to Don Quixote, but of course with very different intentions. Another method favoured by writers of pseudofactual narrative and shared by some historical novelists is the use of the autobiographical form (Defoe's Moll Flanders[31]) which establishes the sense of authenticity (see Pushkin's The Captain's Daughter [1836]) and history, since the autobiographer surveys his life as an eyewitness.[32] A third device employed almost universally by historical novelists and narrative historians as well comes directly from the narrative tradition itself. We have chosen to call it the historian´s discourse, which includes what Barthes calls "les embrayeurs d´écoute" or "testimonials" (Jakobson´s term) and "les ´organisateurs´ du discours." The testimonials cover "toute mention des sources, des témoignages, toute référence à une écoute de l´historien, recueillant un ailleurs de son discours et le disant,"[33] which are the kind of references we previously labelled HIST. REF., type III. In most of Scott´s novels and in some by Cooper and Mérimée, the testimonials are put aside in actual notes, but in most novels they are incorporated in the text as asides. The organisateurs are devices that give additional historical depth to the story told and create, in Barthes´ words, "l´histoire en zigzags."[34] For example, when Scott first mentions the terms "Whig" and "Hanoverian succession," he immediately regresses to explain the background for the Tory-Whig conflict during the time of George I (W 38). In other places, Scott, the narrator, regresses to fill in the history of a fictitious person or place, but only to link imperceptibly the made-up parts to actual history. Thus, following a summary of Waverley´s genealogy, which is all fictitious, a "degenerate scion" is singled out by the narrator and cleverly tied in with acknowledged history:

> This degenerate scion had committed a further offence against the head and source of their gentility, by the intermarriage of their representative with Judith [fictitious], heiress of Oliver Bradshawe [fictitious], of Highley Park, whose arms, the same with those of Bradshawe, the regicide [factual], they had

> quartered with the ancient coat of Waverley [fictitious]. (W 40)

The crossover from fiction to history is typically done at some undefined time, in this case during the period between 1649, the time of the execution of Charles I, and the present time of Waverley's story (1745), so as to avoid the jarring effect that would arise from uniting the fictional with the factual in concrete details. We have previously discussed how Scott circumvents this problem at the story level when he is forced to combine his fictional elements with historical figures or events without the possibility of referring the moments to a hazy no man's land, as when Edward Waverley meets the Prince or when he fights on the historical battlegrounds (see end of section 3.22 in chapter III).

The voice of the narrator speaks from the world that Genette has named extradiégétique. The world of which the narrator speaks is called intradiégétique, and the shifting from one world to another is done in the narrator's voice. These transitions are frequent in historical narrative proper and in historical fiction of the "reflective mode,"[35] as they give access to the narrative spaces needed for the narrator/knower to act as a historian, on the one hand, and on the other hand as a technician who splices the fictional elements with the historical.

The transitions do not create ontological confusion in history writing, not even in eyewitness accounts in which the narrator exists in both worlds, although the latter accounts may create epistemological problems (the unreliability of eyewitness accounts is notorious). In well-narrated historical fiction the problems are likewise few, whereas in fiction that tends to be more mimetic (e.g. Dumas) than diegetic, there are often doubts as to the historical depth (the term depth is preferable over the term authenticity, since no historical fiction can or does aspire to being authentic). The problems, we suggest, arise from the peculiar triangle of intradiegetic worlds that historical fiction embraces. In addition to the two basic worlds, the extradiegetic and the intradiegetic, the intradiegetic space houses two stories, one (the romance) superimposed on and linked to the other (the hi/story) at certain points that we may call interfacial. The phenomenon is not one of imbedded narratives--likened to a set of Chinese boxes--described by Genette as first, second, third, etc.-degree narratives,[36] although this phenomenon also occurs as it does in much fiction. Instead, we are referring to a rather unusual narrative technique. Thus in Dumas' novels the extradiegetic narrator does not succeed in establishing an interface through which he can connect the two intradiegetic worlds (the tale and the hi/story) while still maintaining the two worlds' different ontological status. In Dumas' novels the intradiegetic world as a whole constitutes a true blend of fictional and factual elements, and hence the works are perceived as fiction rather than as historical fiction.

Finally a few words on an interesting technique practiced by Scott in Waverley, a technique which creates a strong sense of self-consciousness in the fiction and at the same time enforces the stability of the intradiegetic triangle. In chapter one, which is titled "Introductory," the narrator "I" discourses on the title of his work. He does not speak as a historian but as a literary critic who is well aware of the fact that texts are generated from other texts and that new forms are created on the basis of existing forms. He also points to the importance of the phrasing of a title that immediately establishes a number of allusions to the real world or to the literary tradition. His explanation of his final choice, Waverley or, ´tis Sixty Years Since, is straightforward, but the fictional self-consciousness he points to during his discourse and continues to refer to intermittently throughout the novel is worth a comment.

The conjunction "or" preceded by a semicolon and followed by a comma always signifies the same thing in a title, namely that the work can be read as A, as B, or as A and B simultaneously. Thus, the work can be read as a story about Waverley, a hero "with an uncontaminated name" free from any association with "English history or topography" or with traditional literary names that would cast the invented name in a certain moral mold. Moreover, the chosen name is of course a pun on the character´s indecisiveness and by implication a comment on the entire work's neutral stance. The hero is then from the first page shown by the narrator to be an artificial construction shaped by existing epithets from chivalric, sentimental, and comic fiction. When we meet the hero in the flesh, so to speak, later in the diegesis, it is therefore hard to disassociate his name and character from the initially outlined artificiality.

The sense of artifice is further strengthened by references to Don Quixote in the text. We have already discussed one of the thematic implications of the analogy between the two heroes (section 3.12, Setting). At the discourse level the chain of associations proceeds as follows. Waverley is first of all a character much like Don Quixote, as they both develop their fertile imaginations through intense reading of books (analogy at the diegetic level).[37] Furthermore, when Edward is confronted with exotic phenomena, the narrator informs the reader of the Quixotic kinship both in terms of story analogy and in terms of genre parallel (at the extradiegetic level). At the waterfall, not only does Edward experience the subordination of his reason to his imagination "like a knight of romance" (diegetic level), but the narrator places his hero and his readers in front of an invisible window (interfacial point) that faces "the land of romance"(extradiegetic level) (W 175). Although it is quite clear that this strange land is all too real in spite of its exoticism, the narratorial reference nevertheless establishes a generic ambiguity that allows the two diegetic realms, the real/historical and the imaginary, to coexist. Thirdly, not only is Edward's book-learning an obvious reference to Don Quixote but also directly to Scott himself and hence to the genesis of Waverley. In the General Preface added in 1829, the Author relates in detail how his lengthy boyhood illness "threw [him] back on the kingdom of fictions." Just like Edward, the young Author "was abandoned to [his] own discretion so far as reading...was concerned," and as a result, he "read almost all the romances, old plays, and epic poetry, in that formidable collection" of the "circulating library in Edinburgh" (W 520-21). Fourthly, the shared influence of books extends logically to a similar approach to the re-telling of history:

> The Baron...only cumbered his memory with matters of fact--the cold, dry, hard outlines which history delineates. Edward, on the contrary, loved to fill up and round the sketch with the colouring of a warm and vivid imagination, which gives light and life to the actors and speakers in the drama of past ages. (W 109)

In short, the narrator shows quite deliberately that he is in control of creating his own fiction (not history) and of manipulating the narrative by switching generic modes (from novel to romance to history and vice versa). Moreover, he refers specifically to his own research methods and consequently leaves little room for either fictional or factual illusion. In other words, when the historical elements become too unbelievable, as in the scene between our fictitious hero and the real Bonnie Prince Charlie, the established interface provides a loophole for the reader to escape into "the land of romance" momentarily. Inversely, if the reader so chooses, the artificially created characters can easily be assimilated into the real English countryside or Scottish Highlands.

Similarly, the subtitle refers to the past and, implicitly, to the year 1745, without actually promising to deal specifically with the Jacobite uprising. By being evasive and yet containing a wide range of connotations, the composite title lays the text open to multiple readings which can be carried on simultaneously. The blueprint of the diegetic triangle is thus already present in the title itself.

5. The Narrative Act: Author-Text-Reader Relationship

In Waverley, as in all the romantic historical novels considered here, the relationship between the author/narrator and the reader is "normal" in narratological terms. The only reason we wish to comment on the narrative act at this point is that the narrator-text-reader relationship in the more self-conscious "philosophical mode" and the self-referential postmodernist mode can best be described in terms of the norm.

Gerald Prince, in his seminal work on the narratee, has shown that this discursive entity takes on a great number of different shapes.[38] In a reduced form, Chatman has suggested the following schema of the narrative situation:

Simple transmission

1. overt "author"-narrator	object story	1. overt "reader"-narratee
2. covert narrator		2. covert narratee
3. nonnarrator		3. nonnarratee

Normally, or "[i]n general a given type of narrator tends to evoke a parallel type of narratee: overt narrators evoke overt narratees....," although "this is not inevitably true" (SD 254). Thus *Waverley*, *Lionel Lincoln*, *I promessi sposi*, *Cinq-Mars*, and *La Chronique du règne de Charles IX* conform to the overt-narrator-overt-narratee pattern, while *Die Kronenwächter*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and *Les Trois mousquetaires*, to name a few, adhere to the overt-narrator-nonnarratee pattern.

The important point to be made, however, is not the frequency or distribution of certain combinations of text transmissions, but that the portrait-novels of the "reflective mode" (see Chapter III,3) do not require any transmissions other than the simple kind. The problems of how to balance the factual with the fictional are handled either at the story level or through the voice of the extradiegetic narrator, since the underlying assumption is that history writing or the recording of events are not in themselves problematic phenomena. There are of course in Waverley many instances of imbedded narratives where story-tellers and history-tellers (e.g. aunt Rachel, Rose Bradwardine, Flora Mac-Ivor, and MacMurrough the family bhairdh) have their own versions of particular historical figures or events. However, these versions are merely different points of view--or different Viconian perspectives--rather than examples of the epistemological problems of the act of recording.

In novels of the "philosophical mode" (see Chapter III,3), the act of recording is explored, and this particular theme seems to necessitate a so-called frame transmission in which an "overt narrator [acts] as character in frame story" and transmits the object story to an "overt narratee [who acts] as [a] character in frame story" (SD 254). Thus Quentin in Absalom, Absalom! is an amateur historian himself who tries to reveal the facts of the Sutpens, and who also, because of his very participation, becomes an inextricable part of the tragic end. A similar theme can be observed in Doctorow's Welcome to Hard Times and Koestler's Darkness at Noon, although the latter novel also deals with the power of ideologies to shape history, not only in a revisionist and dishonest sense, but in a logical sense. Rubashov, the protagonist who writes a diary/document in prison to record the events leading to his confession and subsequent execution, reveals the sham of the Stalinist version of history; at the same time the diary points to the disturbing fact that an ideology which intends to remain absolute and pure in itself must necessarily create its own version of reality and thus of history.

Finally, in self-referential fiction the abstracted relationship between the creator, the construction, and the receiver is exploited at a different level altogether. The transmission process itself here becomes narrativized in many disguises with the intent of refering back to the text as text. Theory, in other words, becomes theme. Based on Chatman´s diagrams of text transmission (SD 24, 266), our diagram below lists some of these disguises frequently found in Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity´s Rainbow:

"creator"	discourse/story	manifestation	"recipient"
novelist	verbal narrative	words/paper	reader
photographer	photograph	shades, shapes/ paper	viewer
filmmaker	film	shades, colours, shapes/moving celluloid	spectator

6. Summary: Portrayal Redefined

From the above analysis of Scott´s first historical novel, we may conclude that the terms "re-enactment of history" and "portrayal of history" are only crude metaphors for very complex constructions. Giving life to the dry facts of history, to use another well-known phrase, cannot be done solely with a knack for story-telling and knowledge of the historical facts. The life-support system of the reconstruction is extensive, and in the case of *Waverley*, it is left undisguised.

The number of historical references of the first and second order are relatively few and not all of them refer exclusively to 1745 but many date back to the Battle of Hastings, the War of the Roses, the Civil War, the Regicide, the earlier Jacobite uprising of 1715, etc. Most of these items are left unexplained at the diegetic level of the narrative presumably because they are considered common knowledge for both the characters involved and the reader.

The bulk of historical references at the diegetic level are, as in all fiction of local colour, of the fourth kind, and whenever the reader's knowledge is too limited to verify the probability of the reference, he either assumes that they are accurate or makes allowance for inaccuracies in the name of a larger historical truth. Since many of these items would be exotic even to readers of 1805, and the author is anxious to demonstrate that the items are based on truth and not fantasy, extradiegetic explanations are offered either in the main text or *paratexte* (notes).[39] Several of these asides refer in turn to other codes of historical information (HIST. REF., type III).

Furthermore, it should be noted that there are several references to artistic codes dealing with historical material (HIST. REF., type III,ii) both at the diegetic and the extradiegetic levels. The stories and songs in the diegesis dealing with heroic deeds (narratives within narratives) are composed by Scott, but contain actual historical references, as for example Flora´s "Battle Song" (W 178-79). Thus these songs reflect the method employed by the narrator/historian himself, whose "song of Waverley" is in part based on folkloric legends. Seen from this perspective, the songs form some of the interfacial points that allow the fictional to coexist with historical facts.

As we have seen, historical references are not confined to one particular component of the narrative structure, but are found among the story-existents and story-events, including imbedded narratives, in the extradiegetic discourse both within the main text and the paratexte (title, preface, postscript, and notes). Most important are the transitions which always occur in the narrator´s voice and which prevent the text from getting out of hand and sliding into either a world of factual illusion or a similarly fake world of fictional illusion.

The indications of historical change that we initially set out to discover are found at the level of both story and narrative discourse. Story-existents, such as milieux, settings, and characters indicate (not reflect) first and foremost certain historical realities, but they also connote certain themes that in turn point to historical change.

Through the semic and symbolic codes, the following themes are evoked: superstition, wildness/strangeness, mania, enchantment/dreaming, world of romance, battle/conflict, passion, idealism/fanaticism, beauty, strength, danger, reason, maturity, domesticity, placidity, anachronism/incongruity. At times the semic and symbolic connotations predominate to the extent that the historical aspect seemingly disappears, but the themes of romance and idealism, for instance, are not exploited for their own sake. Rather, they function as contrasts to and therefore further reinforcement of the themes of reason and domesticity. Furthermore, when the theme of romance is indicated by the narrator at the discourse level, it enforces the idea that history cannot be reproduced exclusively through mimetic representation. Historical reality can be conveyed partly through "showing" and partly through "telling" or the historian's discourse (testimonials, organisateurs). In any case, the material for the "show" has been obtained from other narratives or indexes to narratives and other codes. Most importantly, the "teller" indicates that the "show" is just that: an artistically crafted construction.

If the pattern of historical change is characterized by a development from "Catholic old times" dominated by superstition and chivalry to modern times dominated by reason and efficiency, the intervening insurrection--the ´45--is an aberration or anachronistic happening.

Notes to Chapter 2

[1] See Appendix, 2.3.

[2] Seymour Chatman, Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980), p.42. Subsequent references to this edition of SD will be included parenthetically within the text.

[3] See Appendix, 2.2.

[4] Boris Tomashevsky, "Thematics" in Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays, ed. and tr. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p.67.

[5] Shlomith Rimmon, "A Comprehensive Theory of Narrative: Gennette´s Figures III and the Structuralist Study of Fiction," PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature, 1 (1976), 36, n.2.

[6] Gérard Genette, Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method, tr. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980), p.27, translator´s note 2.

[7] Gérard Genette, Figures III (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972), p.74.

[8] Roland Barthes, S/Z (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970), p.20.

[9] Barthes, S/Z, p.27.

[10] Sir Walter Scott, Waverley (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1983), p.505. All subsequent references to this edition of W will be included parenthetically within the text.

[11] Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, The Nature of Narrative (1966; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 12-14.

[12] Roland Barthes, "L´Effet de Réel," Communications, II (1968), 88.

[13] Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," New Left Review, No. 146 (1984), 60.

[14] Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p.474.

[15] Honoré de Balzac, "Avant-propos" in Oeuvres complètes illustrées de Balzac (Paris: Furne, 1842; facsim. Paris: Les Bibliophiles de l´originale, 1965), vol. I, 8-9.

[16] Balzac, "Avant-propos," pp.14-15.

[17] Robert Liddell, Robert Liddell on the Novel (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), p.103.

[18] The Latin passage translates as: "for the service of undoing and taking off the King´s boots after battle."

[19] E. M. Forster, Aspects of the Novel and Related Writings, Abinger ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1974), p. 47.

[20] See Appendix, 2.6; and Harry E. Shaw, The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 33-49.

[21] See Appendix, 2.3; and Lukács, pp. 33-40.

[22] See Appendix, 1.3.

[23] Tomashevsky, "Thematics," p. 70.

[24] Roland Barthes, "Introduction à l´analyse structurale des récits," Communications, 8 (1966), 9.

[25] Tomashevsky, p. 70.

[26] Barthes, "Introduction," 10-11.

[27] Tomashevsky, p. 71.

[28] Scott, Preface to Peveril of the Peak in The Prefaces to the Waverley Novels, p. 65.

[29] Hayden White, "The Structure of Historical Narrative," Clio, 1, No. 3 (1972), 5-20; and "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," Critical Inquiry, 7 (1980), 5-27.

[30] Genette, Figures III, p. 226.

[31] The original title is The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders, & c., Who Was Born in Newgate...Written From Her Own Memorandums. The Preface begins as follows: "The World is so taken up of late with Novels and Romances, that it will be hard for a private History to be taken for Genuine...." (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), p. 3.

[32] For a discussion on devices used in Defoe´s pseudofactual fiction, see Ralph W. Rader, "Defoe, Richardson, Joyce, and the Concept of Form in the Novel, " in Autobiography, Biography, and the Novel by William Matthews and Ralph W. Rader (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1973), pp. 31-72.

[33] Roland Barthes, "Le Discours de l´histoire," in International Social Science Council. Social Science Information/Sur les sciences sociales, 6, No.4 (1967), p. 66.

[34] Barthes, "Le Discours," p. 67.

[35] See Chapter III, 3 for a discussion of the "reflective mode."

[36] Genette, Figures III, pp. 238-39.

[37] References to Don Quixote can also be found in Dumas´ Les trois mousquetaires, but only as a simple simile for comic effect: "[d´Artagnan]--traçons son portrait d´un seul trait de plume:--figurez-vous don Quichotte à dix-huit ans,...décorcelé, sans haubert et sans cuissards...." (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, no date), vol.I,6.

[38] Gerald Prince, "On Readers and Listeners in Narrative," Neophilologus, 55 (1971), 117-22.

[39] In his Palimpsestes (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1981), p. 9, and Seuils (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), p. 7, Gérard Genette refers to textual accompaniments (e.g. title, dedication, epigraph, preface, notes, etc.) as "le paratexte de l´oeuvre."

CHAPTER III

DEFINITIONS OF THE HISTORICAL NOVEL

1. The Panoramic, the Normative, and the Modal Approaches.

Since the publication of the Waverley-novels, followed by various translations and ´imitations´ of them, there has been a steady stream of critical literature on Scott´s work and on other historical novels. As discussed in the first chapter, the novelists of the first wave took a great deal of interest in the theoretical problems peculiar to the new genre. However, subsequent comparative and in-depth studies of the genre have been few in number, and only the twentieth century has seen a renewed, academic interest in these theoretical aspects.

As Aristotle did with Oedipus Rex in his discussion of tragedy, most critics of the historical novel communicate their theoretical considerations by focussing on a particularly exemplary work or group of works as their model. In order to establish a system of differentiation, it would be logical to discuss other works that share some or all of its generic features and to classify or rate these works in terms of their "normality." The collected data are thus organized either into useful typologies or binary groupings, i.e. systems that differentiate according to whether works meet or do not meet the requirements.

The majority of critical statements are of the normative type, and the range of norms is considerable. As outlined in the Appendix to this thesis (category 2), Louis Maigron´s early statement (1898) has didactic overtones, whereas Sir Herbert Butterfield´s essay (1924) prescribes a poetic norm. The Marxist analysis by George Lukács (1937) is the most elaborate of the theoretical studies done on the genre, both in terms of its history and its essence. Lion Feuchtwanger also follows the dictates of historical materialism in his study (1958), but adds a critical, academic criterion. In his comprehensive analysis of the English historical novel, Avrom Fleishman adheres to a norm of psychological realism (1971), and finally Harry E. Shaw (1983) proposes a definition based on formalistic concepts that distinguishes external probability from internal probability.

A less prescriptive approach to the genre may be characterized as being panoramic (Appendix: Category I). Here a minimal definition is employed and an abundance of works listed as examples. The studies by the historian Helen Cam (1961), the novelist Gilles Nélod (1969), and the literary critic Harry B. Henderson III (1974) are examples of the broad approach that imposes minimal restrictions. Yet, in spite of their inclusiveness, the definitions basically adhere to the portrait analogy and either disregard non-realistic works altogether or deal with them as if they were realistic in a marginal sense (e.g. Henderson).

A third approach, the modal classification system, is also descriptive but tends to be less judicial than category

2, since the critic classifies the available material as it presents itself, without any apparent a priori notions of what the genre should or should not entail. However, in the latter approach a hierarchy is discernible, not according to generic norms as in category 2, but according to the implied philosophical attitude towards "historical consciousness." In an article about definition and methodology in regard to historical fiction, Joseph W. Turner (1979)[1] explores the descriptive method on two levels. Firstly, he suggests a way of differentiating between kinds of historical novels according to conventions used by writers and expected by readers. Secondly, he entertains the idea of classifying works on the basis of the level or kind of historical consciousness present. When comparing the two systems, the first measured in "kinds"(corresponds to categories 1 and 2) and the second in "modes," one can clearly see that the range of novels will be much more limited in the former than in the latter case. Conciseness without too many loose ends is always desirable in generic definitions, but in the case of historical fiction, the definitional problems are so many that generic criteria often have to be stretched beyond credibility to accommodate odd examples. A case in point is Avrom Fleishman´s inclusion of Virginia Woolf´s Between the Acts as a variant of the historical novel at the top of an evolutionary ladder that begins with Scott. Admittedly, Fleishman points out that Woolf´s last work "is not a novel about history but a novel about consciousness-of-history" and thus "the last historical novel of the old school or the first of the new."[2] To blur the boundaries between the old and the new school is analogous to saying that the proverbial apples and oranges belong to the fruit-group after all, a not very useful observation after Fleishman's elaborate scheme to characterize the "standard" (i.e. Scottian) historical novel and its nineteenth-century variants (Thackeray, Dickens, Reade, Hardy).

As for "comic historical fiction" (Turner's term), or what Northrop Frye would call works written in an "ironic mode," there is no logical space for them in systems differentiating between degrees of historicity. The concepts of embellishment, modernization, and Hegelian world-historical individuals hardly apply to non-realistic works like Günter Grass' *Die Blechtrommel* or Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Five*, where the unwritten laws of verisimilitude have been consciously defied. In these works the "dominant," in the sense defined by Jakobson "as the focusing component of a work of art...[which] rules, determines, and transforms the remaining components...[and] which guarantees the integrity of the structure,"[3] has shifted from the conventions of "realistic" fiction and from the illusion of historicity to a set of characteristics that may tentatively be described as postmodern. Yet, there is a strong presence of historical consciousness that one would eventually hope to deal with in terms more definite than what Barbara Foley calls "mannerism associated with a period of decadence"[4] or what Lukács doubtless would have named not only decadent but also eccentric, if his judgment of Joyce and Döblin is any indication.[5]

It should be clear from our comparison of Foley's and Turner's modal typologies below that self-consciousness in historical fiction can mean two entirely different things. Foley evidently refers to fiction that deliberately draws attention to its own fictionality, a phenomenon which she then transfers to the historical content in the same fiction. Exactly the opposite is the case with Turner, who regards novels that deal with the philosophical aspect of history as historically self-conscious novels in an Hegelian sense and then makes an analogical comparison between these novels and self-referential novels (that is, only the self-referential novels that have a high degree of historical content). It is our contention that the two types of self-consciousness cannot be equated, but that they should be categorized either as out-referential narratives in the philosophical mode or as self-referential narratives containing a high degree of historical reference (see chart 1 at the end of the chapter).

In this thesis, a combination of the two modal classification systems suggested by Turner and Foley respectively, forms the backbone of the tripartite division: the historical novel seen as 1) a portrait, 2) as a speculative inquiry into the nature of history, and 3) as a variant of self-referential fiction. Alternatively, the subdivisions may be labelled in terms of the "dominant" component of historicity as 1) the preservation of an illusion of historicity, 2) the questioning of the illusion of historicity, and 3) the disregard or flouting of the illusion of historicity. However, the surveys and the normative methods of research are invaluable in any discussion of the genre in its representative mode, so they will be dealt with in the Appendix to this thesis.

2. Factual and Pseudofactual Modes (Barbara Foley)

Going a step or two further than Henderson (Appendix 1.3), who perceived a marked change in historical fiction from the classical form to the "apocalyptic" novels by Barth and Pynchon, but who did not succeed in finding an appropriate pigeon-hole for the latter two, Barbara Foley and Joseph W. Turner suggest alternative ways of categorizing contemporary fiction dealing with history.

Rather than searching for an evolutionary pattern in the development of historical fiction in relation to ways history has been portrayed, Foley bases her schema on two distinct types of narrative that are dominated by historical subject matter, namely factual and pseudofactual narratives. The ancestry of the two types can first be observed in literature from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and as examples Foley quotes Defoe's A Journal of the Plague Year (1722), and Moll Flanders (1722), in each of which the "illusion of factuality" and the "claim to veracity" are manipulated to meet different ends.[6] Defoe's Journal claims to be a true representation of the 1665 plague in London, and because of his documentary approach, Defoe has at times been labelled the father of modern journalism. In the case of Moll Flanders, the authenticity of the "historical" or "real" protagonist is deliberately shown to be false. Within this bipolar typology, Foley places John Dos Passos' USA trilogy (1930-36) and E.L. Doctorow's Ragtime (1974) at the factual and the pseudofactual poles respectively. Although the subject matter of the two works is very similar, Foley argues that the former is related to the tradition of the historical novel (Tolstoy's War and Peace and Thackeray's Henry Esmond), even if Dos Passos uses the "structure of history" in a way that is more direct than in the nineteenth-century novels, whereas Ragtime is closer to the so-called "apocalyptic" historical novels (Pynchon's V., Berger's G., Barth's The Sot-Weed Factor, García Márquez' Cien años de soledad).

Her thesis is, in short, that the works belonging to the category of factual narratives are "posited upon an assumption that historical reality is knowable, coherent, significant, and inherently moving" and that history is a process which is structured and dynamic.[7] In the pseudofactual narratives, on the other hand, the implication is that historical objectivity and change are "chimerical."[8]

Postmodernist poetics per se are not the main concern of the article. In fact, Foley never employs the term postmodernism, but refers once to Mas´ud Zavarzadeh´s term "transfiction" which she equates with "apocalyptic" historical fiction. Zavarzadeh in turn defines "transfiction" as "a type of narrative which is constructed upon the process of...a baring of literary devices" and "metafiction" as a mode of the latter type or "a narrational metatheorem whose subject matter is fictional systems themselves and the molds through which reality is patterned by narrative conventions."[9] There is therefore no further illumination of the relationship between the structural, apocalyptic, and chimerical aspects of this motley group that Foley finds to be "associated with a period of decadence."[10] Because of the many historical references in works like Ragtime, in spite of the obvious fictive plot and equally blatant anachronisms and untruths, it is assumed that Doctorow is first and foremost making a comment on history and its alleged apocalyptic nature (the term "apocalyptic" is not defined by Foley in terms of its textual implications, but is employed in its metaphysical sense, as a vision of the end of the world). While Foley´s assumption is not unreasonable, our argument is that the main concern of the postmodernists is to comment on the nature of narrative or literature and to point out that history writing is subordinate to the rules of narrative. Consequently, the apocalyptic dimension of "transfictional" narratives will have to be redefined.

3. The Original, the Reflective, and the Philosophical Modes (Joseph W. Turner)

The differences between various modes of historical fiction have also been observed, as previously mentioned, by Joseph Turner. Indirectly, of course, the set(s) of characteristics associated with fiction by Pynchon, Barth, Doctorow, Fowles, etc., as opposed to realistic and modernist fiction, has been explored by several other critics (Robert Alter, Mas´ud Zavarzadeh, Douwe W. Fokkema, and Allen Thiher, to mention only a few). The foci of the latter group, however, have been the distinguishing features of postmodernist literature and art in relation to literary theory, narrative strategies and world view, while the subject of history has generally played a minor role. Scholars who are primarily interested in historical fiction, on the other hand, tend to concentrate on the disciplines of history and philosophy and thus argue for or against various ways of describing historical events and processes or relating different philosophical approaches to "the meaning and making of history."[11] In either case, the literary historian generally leaves our initial query unanswered, that is, the question of what to make of the historical references in some postmodernist fiction and how to describe the relationship, if any, between these references and those in the classical historical novel.

Turner´s study is a good example of a nearly complete solution to the definitional and typological problems of historical fiction. Although his suggestion of the tripartite modal system is superior to any other definition described above and in the Appendix to this thesis, it is nevertheless history-centred and neglects to examine what other traits, narratively speaking, characterize works such as Barth´s *The Sot-Weed Factor*. In other words, our question is whether Barth´s novel resembles Faulkner´s *Absalom, Absalom!*, in so far as the latter is a philosophical treatment of the epistemological underpinnings of history, as Turner would have it. Or is it possible that the two novels belong to the postmodernist and the modernist sensibilities respectively, the former characteristic of its nontotalizing and noninterpretive aspects and the latter of a totalizing vision "´dominated´ by a tendency toward an ´epiphanic summation of experience´," as Zavarzadeh suggests.[12] If Zavarzadeh is right, the two novels would express two diametrically opposed attitudes towards both reality and history (past reality), and only Faulkner´s work would be of the philosophical mode (defined below). To group the two works together under the same philosophical umbrella is to imply that postmodernist texts must be "interpreted" in order that the totalizing, historical vision may be uncovered.

The first part of Turner´s methodology is practical and consists of guidelines for sorting out the historical novels from other novels. To this end Turner lists three groups corresponding to three different requirements that are sufficient, but not necessary, in themselves. The first group comprises "documented historical novels" in which "actual people from the past" appear (examples: William Styron's The Confessions of Nat Turner and John Barth's The Sot-Weed Factor). The second group is called "disguised historical novels" and stand "somewhere between documented history and conventional fiction...without actual characters and events, but with the same dynamics as we find in the allegory (example: Robert Penn Warren's All the King's Men). The third kind, which is the most problematic and almost indistinguishable from the realistic novel at large, is "the invented historical novel." In this instance, the setting, characters, and events are "removed [in time]...from the author's experience," and in addition the invented historical novel is "frequently structured to highlight the problems of historical interpretation" (example: William Faulkner's Absalom, Absalom!).[13]

Once a work has been identified as a historical novel, it then becomes eligible for a new classification within a modal system pertaining to the epistemology of history. Turner's spiralling ladder of approaches to historical consciousness in fiction consists of three steps each of which in a typically Hegelian manner leads to a level which simultaneously encompasses and extends beyond the previous level. The first level is the Original mode, "where the principal concern is to create a compelling picture of the past--history primarily in itself" (example: The Confessions of Nat Turner); the second level is the Reflective mode, "where the chasm between past and present is recognized only to be bridged--history in and for itself" (example: Thomas Berger's Little Big Man); and the final level is the Philosophical mode, "where the primary concern becomes how, or if, history itself is possible--history in and for, but primarily about itself" (examples: Absalom, Absalom! and The Sot-Weed Factor).[14]

The problem with Turner's proposed modes is ironically caused by the coherence of his system. Adopted entirely from Hegel's phenomenology of ideas, the hierarchical system implies that works in the Philosophical mode, besides being exercises in metahistory, contain a portrait of the past as well as a view of history as a process. While it is true that all three elements are present in Faulkner's novel, two of them are not, in our opinion, present in the works which Turner identifies as being self-reflexive and "comic," as it is quite clear that these works are not at all concerned with history in and for itself. The objection is, in short, that one cannot necessarily equate metahistory with metafiction, especially not when the former is approached from a totalizing and progressive (Hegelian) point of view and the latter from within a shattered and nontotalizing (postmodernist) view of reality.

Since the Hegelian quest for historical understanding is by and large an epistemological enterprise, and the self-reflexive experiment is an ontological critique of fiction (which may or may not include historical references), it seems logical to draw the initial line between the two spheres of interest, as Foley has tentatively done with the factual and pseudofactual division, or as Zavarzadeh has done with the distinction between out-referential and self-referential narrative.[15] A subsequent procedure would then be to implement typologies and modal groupings within the two spheres, as Foley, Turner, and other critics have done in part, especially in regard to the out-referential grouping.

In the chart at the end of this chapter, it should be noted that the idea is not to divide all narrative fiction into two distinct kinds, the out-referential and the self-referential kind. For practical purposes, however, the two branches should be understood as groups of narratives that are predominantly either out- or self-referential. Following Robert Alter's argument in Partial Magic, for instance, all novels, from the Renaissance to postmodern times, are essentially self-conscious, and the realistic and naturalistic novels are only dominated by a desire to utilize literature as a means to convey extra-literary aspects of men's and women's social and historical situation.[16]

We have borrowed the two terms from Zavarzadeh's study of nonfiction, but used them to designate slightly different aspects of narrative prose than he intended. In Zavarzadeh's terminology factual narrative is out-referential, as it refers to "an external configuration of facts verifiable outside the book." Fictional narrative, on the other hand, is self-referential in an Aristotelian sense, that is, the "truth" of the work is to be found within the boundaries of its own structure.[17] In this thesis we will employ the first term to cover what Alter refers to as realistic fiction that is dominated by extra-literary references, and the second term to refer to "self-conscious" fiction in which a deliberate "testing of the ontological status of the fiction is performed."[18]

Group A corresponds to the kind of fiction that represents history in terms of a portrait. Novels in the Original mode represent the "past as past," while works in the Reflective mode express the relationship between the present and the past as well. Most of the critical statements discussed under Category 2 (Appendix) have been concerned only with these two modes of the so-called "classical" historical novel, although Fleishman extended his typology to include novels of the Philosophical mode without, however, making a clear distinction between groups A and B (Appendix 2.5). Another exception is Henderson (Appendix 1.3) who attempted to trace a generic kinship between groups A and C in a typology that was far from convincing.

Group B includes novels that represent a portrait of sorts, but that at the same time comment on the ways in which we arrive at establishing (or knowing) the portrait. *Absalom, Absalom!* is indeed a very good example, as are

Arthur Koestler's Darkness at Noon and Norman Mailer's The Armies of the Night.

Group C is reserved for postmodernist novels that, in addition to being dominated by historical references, share the characteristics pertaining to self-referential fiction in general.

Examples: (see chart 1 at the end of this chapter)

1. Madeleine de Scudéry, Artamène; ou le Grand Cyrus (1649-53)
2. Erich Maria Remarque, Im Westen Nichts Neues (1929)
   William Styron, The Confessions of Nat Turner (1967)
   Robert Penn Warren, All the King's Men (1946) (disguised)
3. Sir Walter Scott, Waverley (1814)
   Leo Tolstoy, War and Peace (1869)
   Roger Martin du Gard, Jean Barois (1913)
   Mikhail Sholokhov, And Quiet Flows the Don (1929)
   John Dos Passos, USA Trilogy (1930-36)
   Jules Romains, Les Hommes de bonne volonté (1932-46)
   George Orwell, Animal Farm (1945) (disguised)
4. Arthur Koestler, Darkness at Noon (1941)
   William Faulkner, Absalom, Absalom! (1936)
   Günther Grass, Die Blechtrommel (1959)
   E.L. Doctorow, Welcome to Hard Times (1960)
   Norman Mailer, The Armies of the Night (1968)
   Timothy Findley, Famous Last Words (1981)
5. Daniel Defoe, The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell (1720)
   Daniel Defoe, The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders (1722)
   Daniel Defoe, The Fortunate Mistress; or a History of the Life of Mlle. de Beleau...Being the Person known by the name of Lady Roxana (1724)
6. John Barth, The Sot-Weed Factor (1960)

Gabriel García Márquez, Cien años de soledad (1967)

Carlos Fuentes, Cambio de piel (1967)

Kurt Vonnegut, Slaughterhouse Five (1968)

Michel Tournier, Le Roi des Aulnes (1970)

Thomas Pynchon, Gravity's Rainbow (1973)

E.L. Doctorow, Ragtime (1974)

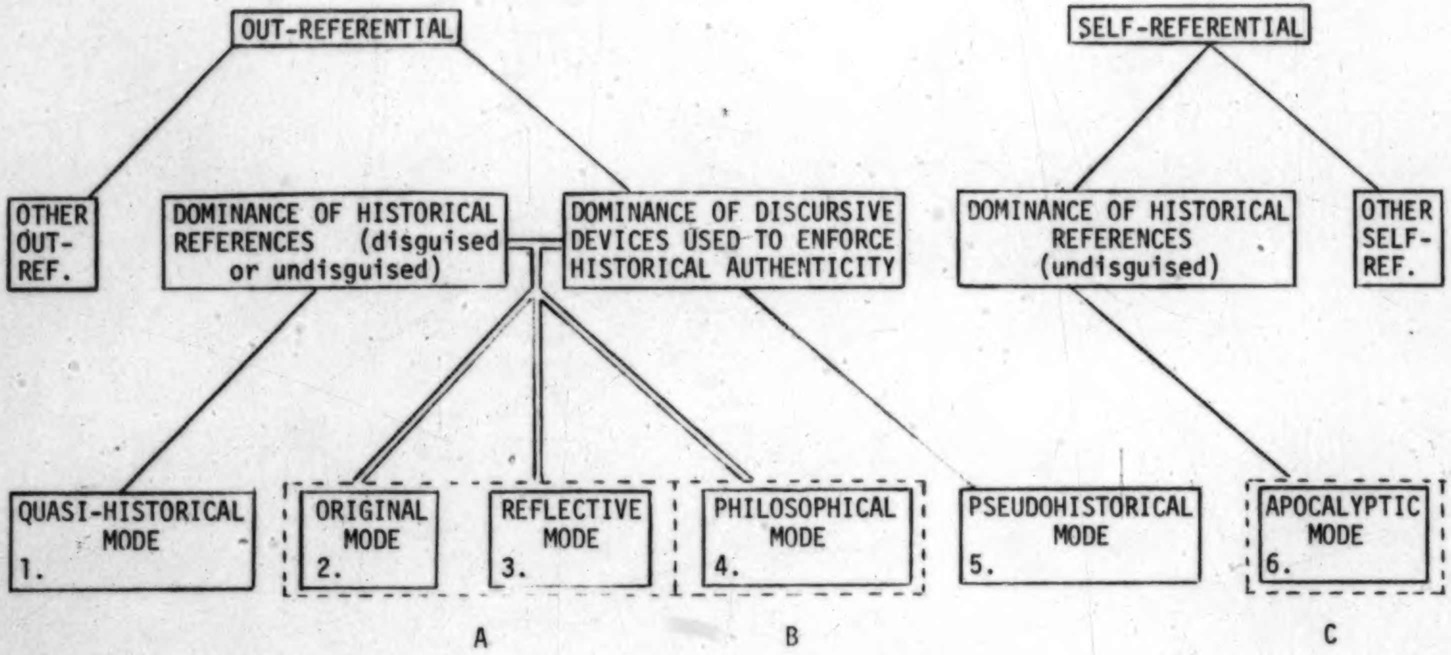
Umberto Eco, Il nome della rosa (1980)

D.M. Thomas, The White Hotel (1981)

Max Apple, The Propheteers (1987)

CHART 1

NARRATIVE MODES IN FICTION CONCERNING HISTORY


OUT-REFERENTIAL
SELF-REFERENTIAL
OTHER OUT-REF.
DOMINANCE OF HISTORICAL REFERENCES (disguised or undisguised)
DOMINANCE OF DISCURSIVE DEVICES USED TO ENFORCE HISTORICAL AUTHENTICITY
DOMINANCE OF HISTORICAL REFERENCES (undisguised)
OTHER SELF-REF.
QUASI-HISTORICAL MODE 1.
ORIGINAL MODE 2.
REFLECTIVE MODE 3.
PHILOSOPHICAL MODE 4.
PSEUDOHISTORICAL MODE 5.
APOCALYPTIC MODE 6.
A
B
C

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] Joseph W. Turner, "The Kinds of Historical Fiction: An Essay in Definition and Methodology," Genre, 12 (1979), 333-55.

[2] Fleishman, p. 255.

[3] Roman Jakobson, "The Dominant," in Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views, ed. Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1971), p. 82.

[4] Barbara Foley, "From U.S.A. to Ragtime: Notes on the Forms of Historical Consciousness in Modern Fiction," American Literature: A Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography, 50 (1979), 105.

[5] Lukács, p. 342.

[6] Foley, p. 97.

[7] Foley, p. 100.

[8] Foley, p. 96.

[9] Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, The Mythopoeic Reality: The Postwar American Nonfiction Novel (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 38-39.

[10] Foley, p. 105.

[11] Turner, p. 354.

[12] Zavarzadeh, pp. 3, 36.

[13] Turner, pp. 336-40.

[14] Turner, pp. 353-54.

[15] Zavarzadeh, p. 56.

[16] Robert Alter, Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-conscious Genre (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 101.

[17] Zavarzadeh, pp. 54-55.

[18] Alter, p. xiii.

CHAPTER IV

VISIONS AND HISTORY: THE POSTMODERNIST CONTEXT

1. Visions and History

The self-consciousness exhibited in Waverley and other romantic historical novels is functional in the sense that it serves to overcome the difficulty of representing a past that cannot be reproduced in every empirical detail by means of language and literary conventions. By acknowledging and taking into account the flaws in the window pane separating us from the actual past, the narrator can, despite the distortions and opaque spots in the glass, relate his vision in a manner that is at least coherent, if not perfect. The assumption is that symbols and literary devices are tools or media that, although artificial, can convey messages about things other than themselves. Another presupposition is that history (Geschichte) is an objective reality that can be retold as if it were a narrative with a plot (Historie). In the remaining two chapters we will examine a number of features in self-referential texts which undermine both of these assumptions: the transparency of language and the identification of recorded history (Historie) with actual lived history (Geschichte).

While chapter V will be devoted to a comparative study of Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity's Rainbow, the present chapter will deal with theoretical issues pertaining to self-referential fiction in general and to self-referential historical visions in particular. The term ′vision′ is to be understood as a mystic and magic concept, not as a cognitive concept characterizing the rational manner in which one understands things. It should be apparent from the subsequent discussion that mystic or magic ′visions′ in texts may be constructed through self-referential devices. Also, it should be equally clear that the borderline between true magic and charlatanism is invisible, hence the pervasive cosmo-comic theme of many postmodernist works. Harry Houdini, the magician whose mission was to make the borderline visible, is our inspiration for the present chapter.

In self-referential fiction containing historical subject matter, there are in principle at least five identifiable visions that are qualitatively different from the historicist portraits. None of the five are mutually exclusive of each other, but may be combined in the same work.

Because the emphasis is on the systemic relationships between textual components (con/texts) and not on the connection between signs and referents, the emerging text patterns, although dominated by historical references, will be shaped by their syntagmatic and paradigmatic associations of signs (in the Saussurean sense). One of these patterns is the overwritten and layered text, the so-called palimpsest that describes change in terms of deletions, partial deletions, inserts, additions, and overwriting. With historical data as basic text components and the passing of time as the motivation for text overwriting, Fons Rademakers' film De Aanslag (1986) is a perfect example of the palimpsest model.

Also, we should mention a class of texts that do not necessarily deal with historical references, but that do explore the nature of the passing of narrative time. Allen Thiher discusses this aspect of representing the past in his analysis of the German writer Peter Chotjewitz's novel Roman (1968).[1]

Relevant to the present study are two trans-historicist models, that is, the apocalyptic/cataclysmic revelation and the mandala-vision, the latter as a confirmation of the historical moment 'being there.' These two models are to be understood in terms of the semiotic process, as will be discussed below. Other self-referential texts focus on the idea that the textual universe, including any historical references, unfolds the only possible way it can. In Tournier's Le Roi des Aulnes Tiffauges confirms this concept in his last thought before disappearing into the bog: "tout était bien ainsi."[2]

Whether the self-referential texts tell stories or not, whether they refer to phenomena extrinsic to the text or not, they do derive their intrinsic meaning through explicit reference to their own existence. To pull oneself up by one's bootstraps is not an easy task for earthbound creatures fighting the gravitational force. Postmodernist texts, most obviously the Borgesian, fabulist kind which constitute _structures en abîme_, do not have that problem except in the cases where historical references appear. References to concrete and verifiable things, people, or events have the characteristic property of being earthbound, of pulling the text downwards while the text is busy pulling itself up by its own efforts. Before deciding whether the text will hover, gracefully like a Pynchonian rainbow, above historical reality or fall flat on its face in the historical mire in which Tournier's Ogre disappears, we will examine the kind of historical references the postmodernist texts contain.

From a survey of historical references in the novels _Slaughterhouse Five_, _Le Roi des Aulnes_, _Gravity's Rainbow_, _Ragtime_, _Il nome della rosa_, _The White Hotel_, and the films _Zelig_ and _De Aanslag_, it appears that all four types of references occur (see Chapter II.2):

I. Verifiable items of the past
II. Items of anecdotal character
III. History codes
IV. Fictional items analogous to verifiable items

Sometimes they occur sparingly (e.g. _Slaughterhouse Five_) and sometimes profusely (e.g. _Il nome della rosa_). In some cases the references are documented in notes or narratorial asides (e.g. _Le Roi des Aulnes_ and _The White Hotel_) as was common in the romantic novels, and in other cases a sense of true nostalgia is evoked (e.g. _Ragtime_). Common to all of the historical references in these works, however, are various kinds of juxtapositions with incongruous elements which are not accounted for by means of narratorial transitions or other devices. Even in the two works that resemble the classical historical novel the most, that is, Ragtime and Il nome della rosa, incongruities (not merely anachronisms) are left to serve the self-referential and intertextual codes. Whenever inaccuracies and improbabilities occur in Waverley, the reader will make allowance for these because of a sense of the historicist continuity of an underlying text, the hi/story and not necessarily the story. Much the same process takes place when the reader is confronted with historical facts, improbabilities, fanciful images, and incongruous juxtapositions in postmodernist works, and consequently s/he performs various mental acrobatics to conjure up a historical story of sorts, however fantastic, abstract, or improbable it might appear. While these hi/stories are clearly unreliable, we wish to argue that the historical material in the postmodernist works nevertheless contribute to the making of visions, not portraits.

Before turning to a discussion of the unlikely marriage between history and self-referentiality, we will briefly explain the characteristics of postmodernism. In this thesis, the 'ism' is used to designate contemporary self-referential fiction, although the protean term is frequently employed in the critical literature to cover a large range of fiction: surfiction, self-referential fiction, self-reflexive fiction, narcissistic literature, supramodernism, literature of exhaustion, literature of replenishment, and literature of silence.[3] Not only does postmodernism cover literature with certain formal characteristics, but also, according to some critics, contemporary cultural phenomena which deal with reality in an entirely new way.[4] A considerable corpus of critical material dealing with the ´postmodernist condition´ exists as well, including statements on the philosophical and economic implications of the alleged new phenomenon.[5] Some literary historians have discussed the characteristics separating this new literature from traditional modernism on the one hand and traditional realism on the other hand.[6] Other observers of cultural change have pointed out analogous relationships between postmodernism and previous artistic movements (e.g. from the Renaissance, Romanticism, and the Avant-garde)[7], philosophies (e.g. Lao-tze, Leibniz, Teilhard de Chardin), and new scientific theories (e.g. in physics and biology).[8]

While it is true that so-called postmodernist devices and philosophical concerns have been employed and explored in literature and art in the past, it is also true that the western world has seen a proliferation of artistic works exhibiting these features during the last three decades. Postmodernism is a contemporary movement complete with founding fathers (e.g. Borges) and prototypes (e.g. Julio Cortázar´s Rayuela, 1963) that have been publicly acknowledged by practitioners and theorists alike (e.g. John Barth).[9] Also, the use of postmodernist devices has become widespread and in some instances transformed into forced contrivances not only in serious art (e.g. T. Findley's Famous Last Words) but at the level of popular culture as well (e.g. David Byrne's film True Stories [1986]; Byrne is the chief creator of the rock band Talking Heads). Furthermore, intellectuals whose business is words and culture engage in polemical dialogues on the subject (e.g. the French Marxist philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis in an interview held in Copenhagen).[10] Finally, postmodernist expressions have become subjects of satire both in belles-lettres (e.g. Umberto Eco's Il nome della rosa) and intellectual journalism (e.g. Eric Metaxas' "That Post-modernism!" in The Atlantic Monthly, featuring 'book reviews' of titles such as 'The Name of Pete Rose' by Umberto Umberto and '¡Hola, Buzzy!: Memoirs of an Argentine Insect' by Tomás Yrastórce).[11]

It appears that the multifarious expressions of postmodernism divide into two fundamentally different streams. One stream pursues an old metaphysical theme epitomized by Calderón's La vida es sueño (ca. 1636) from the Renaissance and by Borges' Ficciones (1956) in the twentieth century, while the other follows an anti-metaphysical tradition typified by Sartre's La Nausée.[12] That a cultural trend can be characterized simultaneously by metaphysical and anti-metaphysical tendencies is only apparently contradictory; and it may be likened to the optical illusion of perspectives that can be "interpreted" in two different ways. Once again, we will focus our investigation on the structural substance, with observations drawn from the disciplines of linguistics, structuralism, and semiotics.

Douwe W. fokkema has pointed out that the motto for postmodernism, coined by Carlos Fuentes in 1982, is "nothing matters, anything goes,"[13] a slogan that poses some major problems of definition and, indeed, of attitutde to the literary historian.

In order to deal in a manageable way with the postmodernist phenomenon, we will approach the term with a typological definition and select a limited number of features that are characteristic of the "condition" in general and relevant to texts with historical content in particular. Thus, we will take the postmodernist minotaur directly by the horns and outline the most prominent formal features that reflect various underlying philosophies and ideologies.

2. Self-referentiality and Ontological Vertigo

Example I:

> "You ever put a full-length mirror on the floor, and then have a dog stand on it?" Trout asked Billy. "No." "The dog will look down, and all of a sudden he´ll realize there´s nothing under him. He thinks he´s standing on thin air. He´ll jump a mile." "He will?"[14]

Example II:

> And then he took to studying himself in the mirror, perhaps expecting some change to take place before his eyes....he continued the practice not from vanity but because he discovered the mirror as a means of self-duplication. He would gaze at himself until there were two selves facing one another, neither of which could claim to be the real one. The sensation was of being disembodied. He was no longer anything exact as a person. He had the dizzying feeling of separating from himself endlessly. He would entrance himself so deeply in this process that he would be unable to come out of it even though his mind was lucid. He would have to rely on some outside stimulus, a loud noise or a change in the light coming through the window, to capture his attention and make him whole again.[15]

All fiction is inherently self-conscious or we would not be able to distinguish it from factual occurrences or reality. In Frank Kermode´s words, fictions are "consciously false."[16] Sometimes fictional self-consciousness is very explicit, as Robert Alter demonstrates in his study of _Don Quixote_, _Tristram Shandy_, _Jacques le Fataliste et son maître_, _St. Petersburg_, _Ulysses_ and several other works of the canon. Moreover, the self-consciousness in certain contemporary works has reached such a saturation point that the majority of referents in the text point at various aspects of the work itself, at other texts, and at structural and semiotic characteristics in general.

This kind of self-consciousness is what Borges and Alter refer to as "partial magic"[17] and what Alter calls "ontological vertigo," as experienced by Vonnegut´s dog (example I) and Doctorow´s boy (example II). The self-conscious flaunting of generic devices in _Waverley_ and other romantic historical novels, however, is neither magic nor ontologically vertiginous. Instead, Scott's self-conscious manipulation of literary conventions is a means that serve epistemological ends. In other words, there appears to be a shift in emphasis from epistemological queries in the classical historical novel to ontological queries in the postmodernist 'historical' novel. In order to distinguish the saturated kind from the less self-conscious kinds, we prefer to employ the term 'self-referentiality' which stresses the "self" as being both the subject and the object of reference without connoting the epistemological aspects of the "self," which are contained in the term self-consciousness.

The "partial magic" effected in Hamlet, when the protagonist becomes a spectator of a play that resembles Hamlet, is definitely disturbing, as Borges tells us and Alter reminds us,[18] and points to a metaphysical question of perennial fascination which has lately seen a flowering in science fiction as well. The possibility of the reader being a figment of someone's imagination or a deletable entry in a super computer is a theme that can be well served by fiction with a high degree of self-referentiality.

Most importantly, historical references can likewise create ontological dizziness through incongruous juxtapositions. The presence of Zelig, alias Woody Allen, in a documentary footage from Nazi Germany, for example, is not only comical but also disturbing. First of all, the film trick in Zelig (1983) demonstrates the unreliability and vulnerability of documented 'facts,' two epistemological problems of which modern historiographers are well aware.[19] Secondly, the fact that Allen waves and smiles directly to the camera creates some momentary confusion in regard to the ontological status of the film clip. Zelig is clearly a film, but so is the German footage, and although the viewer knows that Allen is waving to his own camera man, as well as to the modern movie audience, anno 1983, it appears as if he is waving to the war photographer.

The comic or cosmo-comic scene thus undermines both the sense of fictional illusion and factual authenticity, and it demonstrates that the documented, historical 'facts' are but another scratchy strip of celluloid. More interesting, the momentary confusion 'enlightens' the viewer in the Buddhist sense of the word, and it makes the viewer 'realize' (literally speaking) that some 'real' subjects have been observed and recorded by a 'real' photographer during the making of Zelig. Only in this indirect and 'magic' way can the viewer restore a sense of faith in the 'reality' of the recorded past.

Timothy Findley attempts to create the same dizzying effect in Famous Last Words through the self-consciously fictional protagonist, Hugh Selwyn Mauberley. However, it is our contention that the Canadian writer has created a mythological version of historical facts and not a 'magic,' historical vision (cf. our discussion of Famous Last Words in chapter V, 1.2).

In Slaughterhouse Five, Vonnegut's exclusive aim is to evoke a historical moment in his own life, namely his witnessing of the fire-bombing of Dresden, February 13, 1945, or rather the sight that met him when he emerged the following day from the bowels of the slaughterhouse. He could simply have chosen to relate the fact that he "was there," as his alter ego Billy Pilgrim repeatedly does (SF 191, 193, 212). However, Billy soon discovers that the mere relating of facts is not the same as the evoking of the same facts. An alternative solution is to quote actual scientific, documentary sources on the subject, as both Vonnegut (the "I") and his protagonist do several times during the novel; but once again the experiment fails. Vonnegut's final solution to the problem is to establish a series of moments in the text that are ontologically vertiginous and that ultimately make a partial evocation of the historical moment possible. One such moment occurs in a scene where Billy Pilgrim's fictional status is indisputable. Vonnegut allows the reader to 'sink into' the make-believe story, but destroys the fictional illusion abruptly by the mere mention of the pronoun "I," and consequently the reader is caught unawares just like "the author":

Example III:

> Billy looked inside the latrine [in the POW camp]. The wailing was coming from in there. The place was crammed with Americans who had taken their pants down. The welcome feast had

> made them as sick as volcanoes. The buckets were full or had been kicked over.
>
> An American near Billy wailed that he had excreted everything but his brains. Moments later he said, "There they go, there they go." He meant his brains.
>
> That was I. That was me. That was the author of this book.
>
> Billy reeled away from his vision of Hell....(SF 125-26)

3. Text as a Structural Whole and as a Thing in Itself

In the remaining sections of this chapter, the metaphysical implications of self-referential literature will be set aside in favour of a descriptive analysis of the kind of structure that may produce "partial magic," apocalyptic plots, entropic noise and silence, detective story-like plots, and hyper-realism, which to some critics (notably Marxists) are paradoxically capable of conveying no meaning whatsoever in spite of much structured action and extra-textual references.

3.1 Structures

Going back to Jean Piaget's formulation of structuralism (1968), we might recall that "une structure comprend ainsi les trois caractères de totalité, de transformations et d'autoréglage."[20] From the history of formalism and its younger offspring, structuralism, we know that this simple formulation functions only as an access route to a vast storehouse of tangled linguistic axioms, hypotheses, and observations first systematized by de Saussure, later re-formulated by the Russian and Czech formalists to accommodate literary systems, then extended by Claude Lévi-Strauss to cover the discipline of anthropology, only to be assimilated with the science of signs, or semiotics,[21] by people like Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco. The choice of postmodernist features that we have made the focus of our investigation is thus the result of a deliberate _selection_ of outstanding characteristics from the theoretical tangle rather than a systematic _condensing_ of possibly derivational characteristics from a set of tidy primary axioms. In other words, while our selection can be traced back to Piaget's definition of structures, the definition itself implies a myriad of concepts pertaining to signs and sign systems that even the best of literary critics find difficult to systematize into one coherent theory. Needless to say, fiction writers themselves have picked and chosen devices from the same vast storehouse where theory is inseparable from practice.

In addition, it must be mentioned that as a consequence of the self-centering of literature in postmodernism, all aspects of literary theory, including literary conventions, genres, and interpretation techniques, have become potential topics of the postmodernist repertoire and at the same time targets for a parodic onslaught. While postmodernist texts will invite the reader to participate in the act of creative interpreting, the most cunning texts, like Pynchon's, will also remind her not to stray from the concreteness of the artifice. Donald Barthelme, for example, is very explicit about not "reading things into things" in his Snow White, as Fokkema rightly points out; but when Fokkema three pages later in his analysis writes that the "´journey´ is a privileged term...in particular with the connotation: journey without destination," and immediately adds: "which expresses the vastness of space and the vanity of human effort," he has nevertheless walked straight into the postmodernist snare that beckons an interpretation, but which has finally nothing to offer but itself.[22] As Slaughterhouse Five, the journey is indeed a theme of sorts in both Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity´s Rainbow, as will be discussed in the next chapter, but while it is open to anyone to interpret the theme as a comment on the human condition, the symbolic journey can also, and perhaps more precisely, be seen as a metaphor for the reader-critic´s search for meaning in the text, or simply as a measure of the passing of narrative time. As Saussure indicated in his distinction between synchrony and diachrony, the only thing diachronic about a speech instance is the time it takes to utter it.[23] Similar arguments that speak in favour of text-oriented metaphors can be established for the well-used notions of the labyrinth, the mirror, the mise-en-abîme, and the apocalypse.

3.2 Self-duplication, Replication and Differentiation

One of the most direct ways of referring to the text as a self-reflecting entity is by placing a mirror or mirror-like object in the story as a story-existent, a mirror that at the same time functions as a metaphor for the text as a self-reflected entity, and so on. As often in explications of postmodernist texts, the circular argument is here at work, which only demonstrates how pervasive the notion of mise-en-abîme can be in self-reflective fiction. The mirror, then, does not function as a symbol for something outside the text, like the mirror on the wall in the folk tale of Snow White, but as a tool for ontological inquiry, specifically in regard to the status of the text. For example, the anecdote about the frightened dog standing on a mirror as told by Trout the science fiction writer in Slaughterhouse Five serves as an analogy of the protagonist's momentary and involuntary memory flash of the unspeakable historical event from his past (and from Vonnegut's past as well), and also to the reader's reaction when confronted with the primary print-and-paper reality of the book (Example I). In fact the latter realization helps bring about a primary Vision of a historical event that previously was a memory, once removed from the 'real' event.

E.L. Doctorow's Ragtime provides us with several examples of the mirror image, used in conjunction with self-referentiality and historical references. At the end of chapter one, a seemingly insignificant and dangling passage is brimming with references to self-contained structures, duplicated objects, illusions versus real things; in short, allusions to books as things in themselves. The passage does not become truly significant as a reference to itself and to Ragtime, however, until a passage of revelation in the last chapter in which the meaning of the historical reference also comes to light:

Example IV:

> Passage 1
>
> the little boy had followed the magician to the street and now stood at the front of the Pope-Toledo gazing at the distorted macro-cephalic image of himself in the shiny brass fitting of the headlight. Houdini thought the boy comely, fair like his mother, and tow-headed, but a little soft-looking. He leaned over the side door. Goodbye, Sonny, he said holding out his hand. Warn the Duke, the little boy said. Then he ran off. (RT 11)
>
> Passage 2
>
> Houdini had lately been feeling better about himself....He attributed this to his new pursuit, the unmasking of spirit fraud wherever he found it....At every performance he offered ten thousand dollars to the medium who would produce a manifestation he, Houdini, could not duplicate using mechanical means....Houdini realized he now was raised to his assigned height [over Broadway and Seventh Avenue]....He was [suspended] upside down over Broadway [in a strait jacket inside of which there was no light], the year was 1914, and the Archduke Franz Ferdinand was reported to have been assassinated. It was at this moment that an image composed itself in Houdini's mind. The image was of a small boy looking at himself in a shiny brass headlamp of an automobile.
>
> We have the account of this odd event from the magician's private, unpublished papers....(RT 364-65)

A retrospective reading of passage 1:

"the little boy" prophetic object of reflection,

	unnamed (generic text)
"automobile"	named, self-contained, duplicable (structure, book)
"macro-cephalic"	image is medium-bound and distorted (transformation of sign)
"brass fitting"	illuminating device, reflecting surface (lamp *and* mirror), distorting image maker (object in itself, a medium)
"Houdini"	creator of illusions, revealer of frauds, seeker of transcendental experiences, historical figure (writer, decoder, and a medium himself)
"Warn the Duke"	enigmatic prophecy, meaning only revealed *ex post facto* (history writing, narrating)
Postscriptum	The authenticity of the revelation, of "the one genuine mystical experience of his life" (p. 366) can only be established within the context of the "magician's private, unpublished papers" (deference of truth to an unreliable, possibly unstructured and incomplete 'text')

One Pope-Toledo, like one copy of *Ragtime*, is identifiable by two basic means: first, as an identical copy of any other Pope-Toledo coming off the assembly line ("[Henry Ford] had caused a machine to replicate itself endlessly"[RT 155]), and second, as an automobile different from other models, like the Model T or the Pierce Arrow. Whereas the mirror connotes either replication in a general way, or self-duplication, when the viewer is also the subject, these references to other structures of the same genus connote differentiation. The abundance of named car models, newspapers, and ships in *Ragtime*, of named books (real and fictitious) in *Slaughterhouse Five*, of personal names in *Cien años de soledad*, are only a few examples of references to similar and yet different entities. These lists take other forms as well, such as collections and taxonomies in Le Roi des Aulnes and Il nome della rosa, or the interesting example of the accumulation of documentary photos and film clips from historical (war) moments in Fons Rademakers' film De Aanslag[24] (1986), and they all point to the nature of the things listed by means of differentiation rather than to their place in cultural and historical contexts.

Fokkema, who juxtaposes postmodernist conventions with those of modernism, attributes the popularity of inventories, duplications, and enumerations to a desired expression of arbitrariness.[25] One assumes that he refers to the Saussurean notion of the arbitrariness of signs as opposed to the symbolic value of signs. As we have learned from Barthes, and Aristotle for that matter, literary lexias and complete texts are not arbitrary or "innocent" signs, as are their linguistic counterparts (not counting automatic writing or random selections of words or sounds), but signs that are inseparable from the symbolic and cultural codes. Furthermore, the tendency to extend the notion of arbitrariness to include the philosophical concepts of meaninglessness, absurdity or nihilism as characteristics of the human condition is misleading as far as some postmodernist texts are concerned. It would seem, then, that the two notions of replication and differentation are not so much devices used to underscore the idea of arbitrariness, but devices of self-referentiality that point to the fact that books are finite compositions or structures with a potential for infinite reproductions, an infinite number of kinds and of individual titles, and an infinite number of readings and interpretations.

3.3 Different Con/texts and Incongruous Worlds

Another way of affirming something is by negating its antithetical expression. Some postmodernists refer to the nature of structures as coherent and autonomous entities by demonstrating that a text (but not necessarily a coherent story) can be assembled with parts from diverse and often incongruous worlds, each of which derives its ontological status from different sources. Some of the most frequent examples of worlds mixed in this manner are the extradiegetic and diegetic worlds (Example III) and of course the worlds of fiction and historical facts or facts in general(Example IV).

In its most skeletal form, a structure is something free of disorder or entropy, and by producing something, a text, that consists of elements torn from other coherent structures, or texts, postmodernists have logically created truly chaotic, disorderly or entropic worlds--and yet, these chaotic creations turn out to be, at their best, examples of formally coherent and artistic contrivances. Like the emperor´s artificial bird in Hans Christian Andersen´s "Nattergalen" (The Nightingale), the contrived anti-novel answers the regal desire of a structuralist´s dream (after all, with the artificial bird "everything can be accounted for, one can open it and show the human ingenuity, how the cylinders are placed, how they work, and how one thing leads to another--!").[26] From the same ontological perspective, we may say that a pure story is a story about nothing outside of itself, but rather a plotting of itself or a disclosure of a central enigma, usually presented in the title, as in Gravity´s Rainbow or Il nome della rosa.

A postmodernist text may thus consist of an assembly of incongruous con/texts and worlds. By text we understand any autonomous system of signs that has been created and mediated, and which must either be interpreted or simply received to be comprehended.[27] One group of systems comprises what Saussure and Jean Piaget call the human semiotic function of which "les signes verbaux ne constituent que l´un des aspects," the other being "l´imitation sous ses formes représentatives, la mimique gestuelle, le jeu symbolique, l´image mentale"[28] and, we may add, dreams, memories, hallucinations, ESP séances, LSD trips, etc. Another group of systems comprises artificial constructs extrinsic to the human semiotic function, as for example historiographical texts, literary texts, films, photographs, musical compositions, games, as well as economic cartels (rocket cartels), military systems, taxonomies, heraldry, venery, the Nazi Napola system of the Elite, and genetic systems. These systems that are defined in terms of their semiotic function, we have labelled con/texts to distinguish them from texts which refer specifically to the realm of literature.

Some of the con/texts may also be called ´worlds´ that, in Lubomír Doležel´s words, are "characterized by a set of its constituents, by a specific structure and by their own semantic potentials. ´Fictional world´ is a marcrostructural concept and, as such, it provides a general frame for interpreting semantically the particular constituents or aspects of the literary text."[29] Worlds can contain other worlds, as we know, without making the semantic interpretation problematic. However, when elements from one world ´trespass´ into another without a pre-established code to ´allow´ for the irregularity, the result in the real world may be a sense of madness, or in a constructed world an expression of nonsense. On the other hand, when the ´trespassings´ are cleverly manipulated, as they often are in postmodernist texts,[30] a true sensation of ontological vertigo can take place in the mind of the reader (see Example III).

4. Transformations and Change

Motifs that are repeated throughout a text usually undergo some changes, each of which will expand the semantic field of the initial motif and ultimately that of the entire text, while at the same time the choices of metaphorical and metonymic connotations will be channelled in a certain direction. In Waverley, for instance, the motifs or signs of mountains, streams, towers, heraldic emblems, windows, gardens, and enclosures open up and direct, through their repetitions, the potential semantic richness of the text.

In self-referential texts, the transformation, whether of single motifs or of longer parts of the text, results in very different semantic possibilities. Furthermore, when encoded with historical references, these motifs at times give rise to historical ´Visions´ that are clinically detached and fatalistic (e.g. Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity´s Rainbow). While any type of text can do this, depending on the author´s intent and skill, our argument is that in self-referential literature the mechanism of the medium itself to a large degree may forge not only objective but detached Visions.

The distinction between objective and detached observation is fine and disputable in scientific circumstances, but in the case of human relationships, especially where suffering and violence play a role, writers and artists usually maintain a distinction. Both the historical war paintings and the later works by the Canadian painter Alex Colville are examples of detached and sang-froid representations. Colville seems to identify "knowledge...with facts, which are unobtainable; knowledge is separated from feeling; any imaginative, Keatsian in-feeling into another´s experience is prohibited; sharing is a pact, not a mutual reality; both artist and critic are absolved from empathy and reduced to appreciations of formal structure."[31] In postmodernist literature, the detachment may also be the result of a formal, aesthetic approach rather than of an ethical attitude. Nevertheless, the phenomenon has given rise to critical indignation more than once (e.g. in reviews of The White Hotel and Le Roi des Aulnes),[32] since certain historical events (e.g. the Jewish holocaust) are considered ´sacred´ in our culture and therefore not suitable for what might be interpreted as cold-blooded description.

The transformation of various signs, including signs that refer to the dropping of the A-bomb over Hiroshima (e.g. in Gravity´s Rainbow), indicate fatalistic self-destruction. Due to a combination of self-referentiality and transformations of signs, the semantic implications of historical references do not follow a pattern of Hegelian historicist progress, but rather a pattern of cataclysmic destruction.

The fascination with transformations in postmodernist fiction can be traced back to a number of theoretical premises pertaining to linguistics, game theories, and systems theories. The Saussurian distinctions between langue, as the system of a natural language, and parole, as the individual speech act, is of course fundamental to the idea that actual language--and by extension actual literary texts--is a set of variations of the hypothesized system. The system, which can never manifest itself in its entirety, is subject to transformations in time as well, but in the spirit of true systemic thinking, each one of the hypothesized versions of langue at specific moments in time (as paradigmatic wholes) would merely be part of a global system encompassing the past,the present, and the future. Saussure´s much quoted chess-metaphor is helpful indeed for the understanding of the basic relationship between langue and parole, but whereas the rules of chess do not change, the rules of language and literature do, ever so slowly, and it is only by an extension of the metaphor to mean a ´cosmic´ game that it becomes appropriate.

The concept of change in the postmodernist context, which has its most recent roots in linguistic theories at the turn of the century, has its deepest and oldest roots, not in Hegelian historicist thinking, but in ancient philosophies as handed down through texts such as I Ching(Book of Changes), Tao Te Ching (Lao Tzu´s Book of Tao), Tai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih (Yen Lü´s The secret of the Golden Flower), and in Ovid´s Metamorphoses. In short, change is observed and described in and for itself, not to explain the ways of the world, but the way itself (Tao) as being the essence of the world. Thus, Doctorow´s "little boy" studies his own image in the hope of observing some change (see Example II), while the grandfather reads from Ovid´s stories, which propose "that the forms of life were volatile and everything in the world could easily be something else" (RT 132-33), all while the poor of New York "waited for life to change...waited for their transformation" (RT 20).

At the level of textual construction, the transformation of images and the play on words, or puns, are abundant. Vonnegut is most inventive and humorous in this respect, as in the central motif of "four gaping mouths" (SF 78) which is finally given ´historical´ significance through an elaborate web of transformations: from four German guards (68), a firing squad of four men (105), a barbershop quartet named The Febs or Four-eyed Bastards (the protagonist is an optometrist and his father a barber), fifty middle-aged Englishmen singing (93), gooliwogs yodeling melodiously (157), the syrup lollipop stuck into poor old Derby´s gaping mouth (Derby will later be shot by the firing squad for stealing a tea pot) (161), the gaping trunk of the Cadillac that looked like the mouth of a village idiot (182), to four singers cow-eyed and mindless and anguished as they went from sweetness to sourness to sweetness again (174). The sweet-sour juxtaposition has furthermore been prepared for through repeated references to the author´s bad breath (4, 7, 73) and the rotting corpses after the firebombing of Dresden (214) that smell like "mustard gases [sour] and roses [sweet]" (4, 7, 73, 214). As in Billy´s piecing together of clues, associations have to be made at the level of form rather than content in order that the reader may ´see´ a coherent structure, rather than disconnected images and a discontinuous story line. The one particular historical moment in the life of the author, the moment when he observed the four guards gaping at the horrible destruction of Dresden, has thus been evoked through formal transformations of motifs from different con/texts.

Distinct patterns are also generated in Gravity's Rainbow and Le Roi des Aulnes by means of the transformation of signs that change semantically while passing through different con/texts. The signs and their generated semantic fields ultimately converge on a point that can be described as a heightened awareness of the text as text, as an affirmation of the text's structural and semiotic nature, and an affirmation of the text 'being there,' due to the overwhelming number of self-referential devices.[33]

5. Self-regulation

The self-regulatory capacity of any system is an evident property that is often effectively exploited in postmodernist literature. The multiple ending of John Fowles' The French Lieutenant's Woman, for instance, draws attention to the very concept of closure, and the perfect ending of Fons Rademakers' film De Aanslag demonstrates the intimate relationship between closure and disclosure. Because of the ontological confusion that often arises in narratives containing similar yet slightly different con/texts, as in Robbe-Grillet's Dans le labyrinthe, the actual closure can become indistinguishable from intradiegetic closures.

In Le Roi des Aulnes the metaphor of density is useful to describe both the process of self-maintenance and closure. The aim for the protagonist and consequently for the reader is to obtain a maximum density of signs within the defined structure or grid (a quantitative process) so that the accumulation of signs may undergo a final qualitative transformation and literally become one with the signified at the point which marks "le passage du crucifère au crucifié"(RA 496). In Gravity's Rainbow, as we shall see, the self-regulatory process of signs takes a different turn but with similar results. Closure is here brought about by means of a process that seeks to minimize the distance between the signifier and the signified in a way comparable to the differential process of approaching zero or the 'point.'

The point of signification in postmodernist texts is an interesting phenomenon, which differs from mere comprehension or even epiphanic recognition, as we have come to know it from modernist texts. Although the 'point' may be likened to a vision, it is only a momentary glimpse of 'reality,' namely the text's own reality, that is revealed. The implication is that the closest we can come to an Aristotelian imitation of reality is either a very poor onomatopoeic imitation of what the senses perceive, as the final words "poo-tee-weet" in Slaughterhouse Five demonstrate, or a disclosure of the signs themselves in all their stark arbitrariness. Texts, like signs, can only imitate or indicate reality, but some self-referential texts have the advantage of being capable of manifesting their own reality in visionary glimpses that we may call apocalyptic.

6. Apocalyptic and Entropic Structures

Example V:

> Avez-vous lu l'Apocalypse de saint Jean? On y voit des scènes terribles et grandioses qui embrasent le ciel, des animaux fantastiques, des étoiles, des glaives, des couronnes, des constellations, un formidable désordre d'archanges, de sceptres, de trônes et de soleils. Et tout cela est symbole, tout cela est chiffre, indiscutablement. Mais ne cherchez pas à comprendre, c'est-à-dire à trouver pour chaque signe la chose à laquelle il renvoie. Car ces symboles sont diaboles: ils ne symbolisent plus rien. Et de leur saturation naît la fin du monde.
> (RA 474)

One of the favoured devices in the self-referential texts under consideration is the dissolution of the text in an image of destruction. Another shared feature is the association of a historical disaster with a certain vision. A third characteristic they have in common is the depiction of the final event as being inevitable and 'ill-starred' (disastrous) although prophesied and warned against. The term 'apocalyptic' has been the label which theologians have traditionally bestowed upon religious texts characterized by prophecies imparted by means of visions of the end of the world and the beginning of a new world. Our postmodernist texts are thus apocalyptic primarily in a formal and homologous sense and only secondarily in a prophetic and visionary sense.

The visions of the Old Testament prophets (Daniel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Zechariah, Ezra) and of St. John the evangelist are messages or sets of truths that do not result from ordinary visual perceptions of the world or from rational considerations. Typically, the visions appear in the form of dreams, raptures or moments of contemplative ecstasy that have been dispatched by God rather than generated from within the subjective consciousness of the individual. The distinction between the subjectivized epiphany and the formal objectivized revelation is probably one of the most prominent features that separate the modernist sensibility from the specifically biblical tradition of the apocalyptic. In a sense the same ontological status holds true for self-referential literature, as the vision, the end, and the post-finis (not necessarily a new beginning) are concentrated in one object, the text, and not in the protagonist's or poet's consciousness. In other words, the apocalyptic pattern in self-referential literature is first and foremost a device employed and at times exploited (e.g. in Il nome della rosa) as a means of unveiling the text in its unadorned, non-magical and impotent nakedness. The film con/text of the descending rocket at the end of Gravity's Rainbow might thus be the very picture of potency, whereas the white screen facing the audience after the film has broken is silent and blank as a page. However, because the End is not only imminent but also immanent in an eschatological text, as Frank Kermode puts it,[34] the moment of destruction occurs not within the narrative but _is_ the actual end of the narrative--as when the tip of the Rocket in "a film we have not learned to see" appears in the silent frame and reaches, presumably, the audience. The continuum after _Finis_--the latter term does not need to be printed at the end of a postmodernist text--is therefore not a new beginning or the coming of a new Jerusalem, as it is in the true apocalyptic tradition, but simply a _post-finis_, however trivial that may sound.

One way of staving off the ´immanent´ end, as the "Kommandeur de Kaltenborn" warned, is by ignoring the tempting symbols that cry out for interpretation. Abel Tiffauges in _Le Roi des Aulnes_ learns his lesson the hard and final way as he sinks to his death in the bog that has always been waiting for him. The lesson is of course that once the quest for signs or clues begins (as in the detective novel), the signs will eventually materialize and fulfill their own prophecies. It is in this rather pedestrian way, not necessarily as social commentary, that the apocalyptic pattern primarily manifests itself in self-referential fiction.

Changing the perspective slightly, we can assert that a semiotic system is a text consisting of signs that must be decoded in order to be understood. The process is simultaneously revelatory and self-annihilating, as the ´reading´ naturally comes to an end when all signs have been interpreted. The pure and uncontaminated text with all its strange ciphers intact will cease to exist at the point of the metamorphosis where signs and signifiers meet and signification takes place. Another well-known metaphor for this process is entropy (en + trope), pertaining to 'change' or 'turning.' Pynchon has since his early short story "Entropy" (1960) been known as "a poet of entropy"[35] and thus been one of the first writers to answer the famous query made by C.P. Snow in 1959 as to how many intellectuals could describe the Second Law of Thermodynamics.[36] With the appearance of the comical demon (Maxwell's demon) in *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966), the title "Entropy" became inseparable from Pynchon's name. While we acknowledge the former Boeing employee's obvious knowledge of modern physics, we want to stretch the argument by showing that the primary function of this 'trope' is text-referential rather than scientific/philosophical.

In lay terms entropy is the measure of the capacity of a system to undergo change spontaneously, and it indicates the degree to which a given quantity of thermal energy is available for doing useful work. When the difference in temperature approaches zero, the amount of entropy increases, and on a cosmic scale the result is the so-called heat-death of the solar system. However, as we know, this is only half the story, although it does make an interesting topic for Pynchon's tale in which Callisto falls prey to his obsession with maintaining order and a minimum of entropy. "Interestingly," as a medium-sized encyclopedia like *The New*

Columbia Encyclopedia will inform the curious reader, the mathematical expression for information content (in information theory) closely resembles the expression for entropy in thermodynamics. "It was a coincidence," Pynchon states laconically in his second novel.[37] In statistical mechanics or information theory, entropy is a measure of randomness, disorder, or chaos in a closed system, and as Pynchon and several critics have noted, the concept is "a figure of speech...a metaphor" (CL 77). John O. Stark points out that Pynchon uses the metaphor to "enrich his plot by showing the progressive spreading of chaos, to develop some of his characters by showing their increasing similarity and to analyse a decaying society."[38] Another critic, Peter L. Cooper, argues that the term entropy is used as a catchword by contemporary writers to express a sense of social, global, and cosmic anxiety.[39] In addition, we will emphasize that the trope accurately describes the process of 'reading' a closed semiotic text. The greater the information in a message or the more we know about each word or lexia, the lower its randomness or amount of 'noise' and the smaller the entropy. However, as Pynchon shows in all his novels, it is more than ironic that in practice the more information we obtain about a text, the less our certainty about the final meaning of the text becomes. To be sure, the entropic metaphor expresses a process of change--cosmic, social, textual--in which there are no winners. The alternatives are noise or silence, meaninglessness or stasis, chaos or death.

7. The Mandala and Trans-Historical Consciousness

> Much speech leads inevitably to silence. Better to hold fast to the void.
> (Lao Tzu, Tao Te Ching, Book I, ch.5)

Bliss, or 'wisdom,' on the other hand, can be the result of the kind of painstaking contemplation that shuns interpretation (reasoning) and empirical inquiries and that focuses directly on an immediate awareness of reality. In the following we will briefly discuss how historical moments can be conjured up through subjective contemplation in which consciousness unites with reality--including history or past reality.

In a religious context, the state of contemplation is the union of man and God, or man and the universe, or the Self with Tao, and it can only be perceived with "the third eye," which is different from the eye of the flesh and the eye of reason.[40] In Heideggerian terms, the meeting is one of man (Dasein) with Being (Sein) through the imperfect medium of language. In eastern religions, the insight into the nature of reality may be obtained through meditations, by concentrating on the visual image of the mandala. Hence meditative awareness is different from apocalyptic revelation, since the latter is a revealed vision of the end and also an experience in which the perceiving subject is separate from the object. The prophetic vision is essentially one that belongs to the tradition of Historical man, as the end marks not only the end of the world but also the end of History, human progress and destiny. The prophetic revelation is a glimpse or preview of the future, whereas the trans-historical vision is centered on the present moment in which the past and the future meet. In the words of Raimundo Panikkar, "[the mystic] does not situate things along the course of linear time."[41]

This difference does not prevent writers like Vonnegut, Doctorow, Fuentes, and Pynchon from using both concepts simultaneously as text-metaphors. The idea of expressing trans-historical visions by means of historical references is paradoxical, but it may nevertheless have a rational explanation if considered once again in the context of modern science. Raimundo Panikkar points out in his theory of "The Threefold Structure of Human Time-Consciousness" that the advent of the "Script could be said to have been the decisive break between prehistorical and historical consciousness," and that the corresponding event "--which opens up the post-historical period--is the discovery...of the internal self-destructive power of the atom."[42] With the splitting of the atom, man's historical consciousness began to disintegrate, and Panikkar suggests that many western individuals have turned to mysticism, because the "Historical Imperative has failed."[43] Several other philosophers and scientists--e.g. Carl Jung, the nuclear physicist Werner Heisenberg, the physicist Fritjof Capra, the philosopher Ken Wilber, the plant physiologist Rupert

Sheldrake, the theoretical physicist David Bohm, and the chemist and Nobel laureate Ilya Prigogine--have likewise suggested a correlation of homologous structures in Eastern mysticism and modern science.[44]

It is certainly true that Vonnegut, Doctorow, García Márquez, Fuentes, and possibly Pynchon are ´progressive´ individuals who are greatly concerned with ecological and economic exploitation and the possibility of global destruction, and although they are not mystics, they do in some of their works deal with the ´Historical Failure´ in a manner that is similar to the contemplative experience of reality. It may also be possible that the postmodernists have turned to self-referential writing because of the playful elements and ontological queries inherent in that mode. In any case, the trans-historical theories or concord fictions, as Frank Kermode calls them,[45] parallel those of Pynchon´s paranoid Slothrop and Tournier´s missionary Tiffauges--not to mention Eco´s William of Baskerville--who desperately seek meaning through the act of connecting signs. As experienced readers, we know that this behaviour is inherent in the act of reading any text, picture, composition, etc.

The problem with self-referential literature is that on the one hand it deals with profound issues (the nature of knowledge, of being, and of essence), and on the other hand it mocks the very methods used to communicate those profundities. As Italo Calvino makes explicit in his title

Le Cosmicomiche (1965), the comic and the cosmic make up a symbiotic pair, and while the penultimate laugh is on the writer, the last may well be on the co(s)mic creator Himself. In this sense the mandala might be considered magic, "enclosing" and "charmed,"[46] but it might also be seen as a circle of mockery. In Gravity´s Rainbow the circle appears in many disguises, including the closed molecular structure of benzene, as it was revealed to the German chemist Kekulé in a dream of a snake biting its tail; the yin-yang symbol; the Herero Mandala; and the crossed circle in a gunsight.

In Chinese mysticism the union is Tao which is represented by the central white light in the golden flower of the mandala. In Pynchonian Rocketry, the union is penetration which is represented by the pointed tip of a descending Rocket. We will never know whether Pynchon´s ´point´ marks a trans-historical moment, the self-referential end-point of the text, or both phenomena at once.

8. Synchrony and Synchronicity

Blatant coincidences in plot developments have always been a sign of poor craftmanship in realistic fiction. Nevertheless, in postmodernist literature blatant coincidences abound, but function as positive trademarks and meaningful devices. Most clearly, the simultaneity of two or more happenings that have been ´thrown´ together without sound motivation but for the purpose of furthering the plot, betrays the notion of fictional illusion. This betrayal is of course one of the goals of postmodernism. Another interesting aspect of obtrusive coincidences is the synchronic dimension. In addition, when coincidences are taken seriously, as being not just chance occurrences, but meaningful occurrences of two or more events that are not causally connected, they become mysterious.

Since the significance of the coincidences cannot be explained rationally, the phenomenon has traditionally been relegated to the working of a higher force or a cosmic plot. The analogy between a divine plot and a literary plot is of course ancient, but in contrast to the former kind, the literary plotting of events is anything but mysterious. Still, the homology between synchronic structures and the Jungean concept of synchronicity is too great to be ignored, as shown by Pynchon, Tournier, Vonnegut and other authors. Furthermore, when mixed with quasi-historical settings, the synchronic presentation of historical events creates problems that are particularly relevant to our study.

One of Saussure´s most important observations on language systems is the structural unity of a language as obtained through synchronic relationships:

> La linguistique synchronique s´occupera des rapports logiques et psychologiques reliant des termes coexistants et formant système, tels qu´ils sont aperçus par la même conscience collective. La linguistique diachronique étudiera au contraire les rapports reliant des termes successifs non aperçus par une même conscience

> collective, et qui se substituent les uns aux autres sans former système entre eux.[47]

When applied to the construction of a literary text, it is easy to see how this basic distinction can undercut our usual notion of historical representation, when the text continuously refers to itself primarily as a set of co-existing terms rather than as a chain of successive terms. Vonnegut depicts the situation very effectively in his typically non-cryptic description of Tralfamadorian novels that are laid out "in brief clumps of symbols separated by stars,"

Example VI:

> ...each clump of symbols is a brief, urgent message--describing a situation, a scene. We Tralfamadorians read them all at once, not one after the other. (SF 88)

As one would expect, the structure of their novels is very similar to the way the extraterrestrials perceive time and history, in general,

Example VII:

> All moments, past, present, and future, always have existed, always will exist. The Tralfamadorians can look at all the different moments just the way we can look at a stretch of the Rocky Mountains, for instance. They can see how permanent all the moments are, and they can look at any moment that interests them. It is just an illusion we have here on Earth that one moment follows another one, like beads on a string, and that once a moment is gone it is gone forever. (SF 27)

Jung would agree with the last statement, and we will have to admit that terrestrial books in all their concreteness, consisting of covers, pages, print and chapter divisions, exist as coherent entities, like a stretch of the Rockies, and that it is only because of the primitive human act of reading them in a diachronic fashion that books seem as if they are made of a series of moments.

However, it is hard to believe that the Saussurian concept of synchrony, the Jungian theory of "Synchronizität als ein Prinzip akausaler Zusammenhänge," and the acausally connected events discovered in particle physics should be a mere coincidence of terminology. As a result of his systematic investigation of astrological forecasts, ESP séances, the oracle figures in I Ching, and the reading of Tarot cards, Jung came to believe that space and time are relative notions and that causality is equally relative. Hence the theory of synchronicity as:

> [t]he coincidence of a certain psychic content with a corresponding objective process which is perceived to take place simultaneously...and [t]he same [as above], except that the event perceived takes place in the future and is represented in the present only by a phantasm that corresponds to it. (see Ex. IV)[48]

On the basis of the above considerations, we suggest that the so-called "bootstrap approach," as exemplified by the controversial theory of particle physics proposed by the physicist Geoffrey Chew in the 1960s, is the common denominator for structuralism (including linguistics and literary theory), the theory of synchronicity, and self-referential postmodernism. The bootstrap theory rejects the notion that nature can be reduced to fundamental entities but "has to be understood entirely through self-consistency." Consequently, the universe, in terms of space and time, is seen as "a dynamic web of interrelated events" or, as expressed in the memorable Taoist-sounding aphorism, "every particle [of the universe] consists of all other particles."[49] The parallel to Spinoza's monism, Leibnitz' metaphysics, and Teilhard de Chardin's Global philosophy has not been lost on the postmodernists, including the critic Ihab Hassan,[50] but in the present thesis the focus is placed on the form of the bootstrap approach, rather than on its various philosophical manifestations.

In concluding this chapter, we want to stress the positive aspect of the historical 'visions' that are otherwise associated with fatalism and self-destruction. It is our contention that the 'reality' of some historical truth can be evoked as an immediate experience rather than as an imitation. The focus is not in terms of how or even why things happened, as no explanations are ever provided, but in terms of an existential affirmation of the fact that things happened or existed in all their sublimity, horror or mundaneness. From this interpretational perspective, lived history is treated 'simply' as a part of 'reality' that embraces all time and all space. Logically, only two realms of the all-embracing 'reality' can be evoked at a secondary level (as in art), namely the immediate present and moments of the past, the latter as far as memory and recorded accounts can take us. The self-referential text has the potential, as discussed above, to reveal the grand 'reality' momentarily through the pointing to its own existence, and the gravity of historical facts therefore becomes one of the means of establishing this evocation. The fact that the existential affirmation is unqualified is of course the sore and, for some people, the chilling point with which it is difficult to come to terms.

It is not our intention to claim that postmodernist texts have been directed by an anti-historicist philosophy of history which, like eastern mysticism, eschews material and rational causality. While the text itself is held together by a pattern of self-referential devices, the historical references have been 'lifted' from contexts that make them recognizably historical and factual and then transplanted into the kaleidoscopic assembly of disparate bits. Each bit is then used, and some would say misused, for the purpose of playing the textual game and/or evoking 'reality,' but not necessarily for the purpose of creating distorted or mythologized versions of history.

Two moral objections could be raised in regard to this use of historical data. First, it is objectionable to divorce such facts of human history, as for example the construction and deployment of nuclear bombs, from a context of cause and effect and to place them in a context of fun and games. Second, if the practice becomes habitual in literature and art at large, the collective memory of the course and causes of history (as we have learned to interpret it) may well be permanently impaired. Evocations--as opposed to historical narratives--cannot by definition explain or re-tell the hi/stories of our past; yet the postmodernist evocations, mocking or not, can strengthen our sense of an undeniable past.

Notes to Chapter 4

[1] Thiher, pp. 192-93.

[2] Michel Tournier, Le Roi des Aulnes (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 581. All subsequent references to this edition of RA will be included parenthetically within the text.

[3] See the following critical works on postmodernism: John Barth, "The Literature of Exhaustion," The Atlantic Monthly (August, 1967), pp. 29-34; and "The Literature of Replenishment: Postmodernist Fiction," The Atlantic Monthly (January, 1980), pp. 65-71. Ihab Hassan, The Dismemberment of Orpheus: Toward a Postmodern Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Paracriticisms: Seven Speculations of the Times (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); The Right Promethean Fire: Imagination, Science, and Cultural Change (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980); Robert Alter, Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-conscious Genre (1975); Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, The Mythopoeic Reality: The Postwar American Nonfiction Novel (1976); Jean-François Lyotard, La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir (Paris: Les Editions de minuit, 1979); Linda Hutcheon, Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980); Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity Versus Postmodernity," New German Critique, No. 22 (1981), 3-15. David Lodge, "Modernism, Antimodernism and Postmodernism" in his Working With Structuralism: Essays and Reviews on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Literature (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982); Douwe W. Fokkema, Literary History, Modernism, and Postmodernism (The Harvard University Erasmus Lectures, Spring 1983) (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1984); and D. W. Fokkema and Hans Bertens, ed. Approaching Postmodernism (Papers Presented at a Workshop on Postmodernism, 21-23 September 1984, University of Utrecht)(Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1986). Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," New Left Review, No. 146 (1984), 53-94; Allen Thiher, Words in Reflection: Modern Language Theory and Postmodern Fiction (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984); Terry Eagleton, "Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism," New Left Review, No. 152 (1985), 60-73.

[4] See Lyotard.

[5] See Jameson and Eagleton.

[6] See Zavarzadeh, pp. 5-8; Fokkema, Literary History, Modernism, and Postmodernism, pp. 12-18 and pp. 37-56; and Frank Kermode, The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 104-24.

[7] See Alter.

[8] See Hassan, The Right Promethean Fire.

[9] See Barth, "The Literature of Replenishment."

[10] Karen Syberg and Peter Wivel, "Fransk filosofi lever af den tyske kulturs sammenbrud" in Information [Copenhagen], Informations moderne tider, 20 Feb. 1987, p. 3

[11] Eric Metaxas, "That Post-modernism!," The Atlantic Monthly (January, 1987), pp. 36-37.

[12] See Barth, "The Literature of Exhaustion" and "The Literature of Replenishment"; and Thiher, pp. 93-98.

[13] Fokkema, p. 45.

[14] Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., Slaughterhouse Five or The Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death (New York: Dell Publishing, 1982), p. 175. All subsequent references to this edition of SF will be included parenthetically within the text.

[15] E. L. Doctorow, Ragtime (Toronto-New York: Bantam Books, 1981), pp. 133-34. All subsequent references to this edition of RT will be included parenthetically within the text.

[16] Kermode, The Sense of an Ending, p. 40.

[17] Alter, p.1: and Jorge Luis Borges, "Partial Magic in the Quixote" in Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings, ed. Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby (New York: New Directions, 1964), pp. 193-96.

[18] Alter, p. 1; and Borges, pp. 193-96.

[19] E.H. Carr, What is History? (The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures Delivered at the University of Cambridge, January-March 1961) (London: Macmillan, 1962).

[20] Jean Piaget, Le Structuralisme, 8th ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983), p. 7.

[21] A distinction is made here between Saussure's term sémiologie dealing with linguistic studies and the later term semiotics covering the study of signs in general.

[22] Fokkema, pp. 47-50.

[23] Ferdinand de Saussure, Cours de linguistique générale, 3rd ed. (Paris: Payot, 1955), p. 138; and Kaja Silverman, The Subject of Semiotics (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 12.

[24] Throughout this thesis a sharp distinction has been maintained between literary works and films based on the same literary works. For example, Doctorow's Ragtime, Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse Five, Eco's Il nome della rosa should not be confused with the films of the same titles; and conversely, Rademakers' De Aanslag should not be considered identical to the novel by Harry Mulisch (De Aanslag).

[25] Fokkema, p. 44.

[26] Hans Christian Andersen, "Nattergalen" in Samlede Eventyr og Historier (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1982), I, 243 (Translation is my own).

[27] Roland Barthes, "From Work to Text," in Image-Music-Text, tr. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), p. 159.

[28] Piaget, pp. 78-9.

[29] Lubomír Dolezel, "Kafka's Fictional World," Canadian Review of Comparative Literature, XI, No. 1 (1984), 61.

[30] The phenomenon is also well-known in dramatic traditions, notably in Baroque theatre (e.g. Pierre Corneille's L'Illusion comique [1636]), Romantic drama (e.g. Ludwig Tieck's Der gestiefelte Kater [1797]), and the theatre of the Avant-garde (e.g. Luigi Pirandello's Ciascuno a suo modo [1924]).

[31] Richard A. Perry, "Alex Colville," Canadian Forum, LXIV, No. 747 (March, 1985), 9.

[32] See reviews of The White Hotel by Anne Duchene, Times Literary Supplement, Jan. 16, 1981; and Le Roi des Aulnes by Claude Michel Cluny, "Michel Tournier de 'Vendredi' au 'Roi des Aulnes'," Magazine littéraire, No. 45 (Oct., 1970), 38 (Cluny objects to the connection drawn between "l'ange Anal" and "l'étoile de David").

[33] Cf. Jerzy Kosinski's Being There and the possible reference to Heidegger's antimetaphysical concept of Dasein.

[34] Kermode, The Sense of an Ending, p. 25.

[35] George Levine, "Darwin and the Evolution of Fiction," The New York Times Book Review, Oct. 5 (1986), 1, 60-61; John O. Stark, Pynchon's Fictions: Thomas Pynchon and the Literature of Information (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980), pp. 2, 45-73; and Anne Mangel, "Maxwell's Demon, Entropy, Information: The Crying of Lot 49," in Mindful Pleasures: Essays on Thomas Pynchon, ed. George Levine and David Leverenz (Boston: Little, Brown and co., 1976), pp. 87-100.

[36] C. P. Snow, "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution" (originally delivered as the Rede Lecture at Cambridge in 1959), in Public Affairs (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 22.

[37] Thomas Pynchon, The Crying of Lot 49 (New York: Bantam, 1972). p.77. Subsequent references to this edition of CL will be included parenthetically within the text.

[38] Stark, p. 51.

[39] Peter L. Cooper, Signs and Symptoms: Thomas Pynchon and the Contemporary World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 5-7.

[40] Ken Wilber, Eye to Eye: The Quest for the New Paradigm (Garden City, New York: Anchor books, 1983), pp. 2-7.

[41] Raimundo Panikkar, "The End of History: The Threefold Structure of Human Time-Consciousness" in Teilhard and the Unity of Knowledge, ed. Thomas M. King, S.J., and James F. Salmon, S.J. (New York/Ramsey: Paulist Press, 1983), p.113.

[42] Panikkar, p.103.

[43] Panikkar, p.110.

[44] Werner Heisenberg, Physics and Philosophy: The Revolution in Modern Science (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959); Fritjof Capra, The Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels Between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1985), and The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture (Toronto-New York: Bantam Books, 1983); Wilber, Eye to Eye; Rupert Sheldrake, A New Science of Life (London: Blond and Briggs, 1981); David Bohm, Wholeness and the Implicate Order (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); Ilya Prigogine and Isabelle Stengers, Order Out of Chaos: Man's New Dialogue with Nature (Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala, 1984). See also Religion and the New Science, "Ideas," October 28 - November 4/11 (1985), Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Transcripts (Montréal: CBC Enterprises, 1985).

[45] Kermode, The Sense of an Ending, p. 62.

[46] Carl G. Jung, "Commentary by C.G. Jung" in The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life, tr. and ed. Richard Wilhelm (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1938), pp. 96-100.

[47] Saussure, p. 140.

[48] Carl. G. Jung, Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle, tr. R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 145.

[49] See Capra, The Turning Point, pp. 92-4; and Geoffrey F. Chew, "'Bootstrap': A Scientific Idea?," Science, 161 (Aug. 23, 1968), 762-65.

[50] Hassan, The Right Promethean Fire.

CHAPTER V

LE ROI DES AULNES AND GRAVITY´S RAINBOW

Part 1:

1.1 Introducing Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity´s Rainbow

A more mismatched pair for comparison than Michel Tournier (b. 1924) and Thomas Pynchon (b. 1937) is hard to imagine. The Frenchman is a gregarious and publicly visible personality who is generous with interviews, press conferences, photographs (including numerous self-portraits), and drawings of himself (done by Jean-Max Toubeau for *Le Vagabond immobile* [1984]). Tournier is also very serious about his writing and takes part in the critical debate around his own works both in formal essays and autobiographical writing (*Des Clefs et des serrures* (1979) and *Le Vent Paraclet* [1977]) as well as in informal talks with school children. Besides his adult fiction and intellectual essays, Tournier has written several texts for children and published a travelogue (on Canada) and books on photography. He received the Prix Goncourt in 1972 for *Le Roi des Aulnes*, and he is a personal friend of François Mitterand.[1]

The American is a recluse, as everyone knows, and whatever there is to say about him is clouded in mystery. The only known photograph of him was taken circa 1955 and shows a rather nerdy and dull-looking young man. Since Pynchon´s reception of the William Faulkner Foundation Award in 1963 for *V.*, the public has not seen or heard from him except in writing (The Crying of Lot 49 (1966), Gravity's Rainbow (1973), a collection of older short stories Slow Learner (1985) and two articles, about neither himself nor his writing). His latest novel won him the National Book Award, which he sent a comedian to collect, and in 1975 he declined the Howells Medal for no apparent reason. The only biographical information about him is to be found in Playboy in a reminiscent account by Jules Siegel.[2]

Both writers, however, are, like the romantic novelists and like many postmodernists, meticulous researchers, and their respective novels Le Roi des Aulnes (RA) and Gravity's Rainbow (GR),[3] appearing only three years apart, have several things in common.

The two works bask in Germanophilia, ranging from folk tales to film, poetry to politics, nature to Nazism. "Hansel und Gretel" serves as one of the fundamental motifs in GR, while references to early German cinema, especially to Fritz Lang's expressionistic works abound. Goethe's "Erlkönig" not only gave its name to Tournier's novel but also provided the novel with its main theme, while motifs from Rilke's Die Duineser Elegien und Die Sonette an Orpheus and themes from Wagner's Ring-cycle appear throughout GR. Both writers clearly show their fascination with the landscape of Northern Germany, its heaths and marshes, which in the novels become the appropriate settings for human sacrifices and the doings of ogres, witches, and strange creatures inhabiting Gothic castles and hinterland abodes. Moreover, the era dealt with is in both cases World War Two, specifically the Fall of the Third Reich; but in Pynchon's novel the years of the Weimar Republic and the post-war beginnings of the Cold War and the nuclear age are dealt with as well. In fact, one could argue that GR explores the transformation of the lively and erotic Weimar culture into a grotesque and death-seeking world controlled by death angels who inspire the people to collaborate in an act of collective suicide.

A most important feature common to the two works is the sign-seeking mania of the protagonists who through their initial penile conditions have come to realize a correlation between their own lives and the course of history. Rejected by his mistress for his "_ejaculatio praecox_" (RA 21) and _accused of_ being an ogre and not a lover, Tiffauges begins to see his life, past, present and future, as a monstrous vocation which complies with "le cours des choses" (RA 50). As the etymology of the word 'monster' shows, a monster not only directs and points the way, but is also someone pointed at or pointed out (RA 14). Slothrop's problem is no less serious in that he and others notice a correlation between his _phallus erectus_ and V-2 rocket incidents:

> There is in his history, and likely, God help him, in his dossier, a peculiar sensibility to what is revealed in the sky (But a _hardon_?) (GR 30)[4]

Because of graphic and at times distasteful depictions of sexual and defecatory acts, both novels have been criticized for their obscenity. GR was turned down by the Pulitzer advisory board, although the novel had been selected by the judges,[5] and Roger Shattuck speculates that RA has been shunned by the academic establishment in the USA and on the Continent (but not in England) because of the hero´s pedophilia and coprophilia and because of the overt homophilia throughout Tournier´s works.[6] Indeed, some motifs and themes in GR and RA are strikingly similar, and they are ethically disturbing as well as aesthetically unpleasant, such as subject matter pertaining to defecation, domination and control, violation (rape), voyeurism, pornography, suicide, genocide and holocaust.

In spite of the somber implications of the above themes, neither one of the texts points an indignant finger at specific nations or ideologies but rather a Peircean or Barthesian index finger towards systems generated and transformed by signs. The best examples of sign systems and the power they can exert in human contexts are of course found in the realm of the paranormal, and it is therefore not surprising that references to the Tarot cards, Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, magic, Hermetic books, the I Ching, synchronicity and alchemy permeate Pynchon´s novel especially, and Tournier´s novel to a lesser extent. As magic involves both the focusing of powers of the mind and the annexing of powers at work in the universe, there is a parallel between the magic act of reading the cards and the act of reading and interpreting texts in general, including the chaotic ´text´ of facts, figures, anecdotes and memories that we call history.

It is within the context of power, control, and correspondences between signs, signifiers and signified that we will discuss the relationship between certain historical references in GR and RA and the self-referential code. It should be stressed that our aim is not to place the two texts within a world view dominated by magic thought, but rather to draw parallels between the structures underlying the self-referential texts and some basic principles of magic thought.

Few critics would disagree with the above observations. The postulate that the French novel is postmodernist, as the American undoubtedly is, might meet with some opposition, however. Tournier perceives of himself as being an outsider as far as the Tel Quel group is concerned. According to an interview with Publishers´ Weekly, he is reported to have said in a panel discussion with Alain Robbe-Grillet and others "at the opposite end of the spectrum": "I don´t belong in the same boat, because I really have something to say. You have mountain climbers and you have ballet dancers. Both represent movement, but one actually goes somewhere, and I go somewhere."[7] Roger Shattuck, who admires Tournier immensely, feels that the writer has deliberately been ignored by the Barthes-nouveaux romanciers group due to his "modest claims to represent reality" and also--and this is only a conjecture--because of his alleged flirting with perversion and Fascism.[8] Although the term 'postmodernism' has not to our knowledge been used in connection with Tournier and his works, we do not see that the distancing from the nouveaux romanciers and Tournier's self-proclaimed allegiance to "big subjects,"[9] such as solitude, war and Christianity, necessarily exclude him from being a contributor to the school of movement where fancy footwork takes priority over travelling. As a matter of fact, Shattuck himself in a footnote ponders over Tournier's inclusion of Nietzsche, Valéry, and Mann and conspicuous omission of Márquez, Calvino, and Pynchon in a discussion of writers of "le comique cosmique" in Le Vent Paraclet.[10] On the whole, for a man as well-educated and as well-read as Tournier, it does seem odd that in all his name-dropping, he seldom mentions his contemporaries, French or foreign.[11] It should be apparent from our subsequent discussion that RA, while passing through fields of mythology, philosophy, and history, nevertheless gravitates towards its own centre and that it has much in common with the three postmodernists mentioned above.

One more shared feature in the two novels must be pointed out. For all their historical references to World War Two, neither novel is 'about' that subject in the same sense that Waverley is 'about' the Jacobite uprising. In a letter to Manfred Fischer, Tournier explicitly states his intentions: "Encore une fois, il ne s'agit pas d'un roman sur le IIIe Reich mais sur la Phorie," ('carrying' or

´possessing´), and evidently the working title of the novel was "La Phorie."[12] In Pynchon´s novel, a number of motifs take the place of a central story line, e.g. the rocket, the mandala, and the parabola, which are all iconic variations of the two-part title implying perpetual gravity/bondage and illusionary arc/hope. Does that mean, then, that there are no stories to be retold in these novels? Undoubtedly we have physical journeys, adventures, and quests to keep us entertained, but besides the fact that these are improbable, fantastic, and even absurd, the stories are largely made up of text-referential elements. Where each thread of Waverley´s textual matter is part of a tapestry that tells a coherent story of recognizable human experience and that acts as a commentary on an acknowledged shared past, the multicoloured and multitextured threads of the novels in question ultimately make up a sign that spells ´threads.´

Putting metaphors aside, we will briefly discuss the difficulties that arise when the analytical apparatus of the formalist-narratological discipline is applied to postmodernist texts. The first question, which has been partially answered, is whether RA and GR have transposable stories, unifying discourse and credible characters. Despite all the picaresque elements and the wealth of factual details, which in Richard Pearce´s words make even the fantastic scenes in GR "palpably credible," the two books "hold the mirror up not so much to Nature as to Reading," to use Brian McHale´s phrase from his ´correct´ reading of

GR.[13] After more than a decade in print, Pynchon's strange novel has finally, with McHale's study, been delivered from both its mysticism and its realistic connotations. Douglas Fowler has suggested earlier that the work be read as a poem,[14] but even poems need unifying features, especially if they are 400,000 words long. The centre is definitely hard to identify, despite Fowler's useful _explications_ _de_ _texte_ in his _A_ _Reader's_ _Guide_ _to_ Gravity's Rainbow. The text itself offers numerous clues as to where the key might be hidden, clues which have sent critics on wild-goose chases through volumes of learned books. The most remarkable thing is, however, that regardless of the approach taken by the critic, nearly every interpretation 'fits'--that is, up to a certain point--but none give access to the central core, to what the book is 'really' about. Even at the level of narrative syntax, as McHale shows, the designation of speaker and addressees is at first glance quite clear and reassuring, but on closer inspection, it is as elusive as the so-called plot. In this second-person novel, the "you" always opens up various possible combinations of narrators-narratees and thus forces a number of "misreadings" on the reader. The ensnarement of the reader might just be the point of the entire exercise in GR. As the Rorschach inkblot administered to Slothrop shows, the "shape-less _blob_ of _experience_" or the chaos of GR will tell more about the reader-subject than about the novel-object (GR 94). A similar argument could be made for the Pynchonian "They" that at times aim at specific groups, but that more often than not refer to the great unknown ´they,´ a vague assembly of experts who in popular discourse appear to control the world of knowledge and information.

Tournier is in comparison much more reader-friendly, but not so kind to his protagonist, Abel Tiffauges, who succumbs to the same kind of sign-seeking mania that every Pynchon reader frantically gets caught in. The patterns that Tiffauges sees and believes that he ´finds´ in his environment and in his own life are produced from the same impulse that causes Pynchon´s characters and readers to seek meaning. On the one hand, the narratological divisions as applied to Waverley still hold true for our contemporary texts, as the novelists obviously are very much aware of what narratives are and how they are transmitted; but the stories and plots produced are by-products--not of philosophical texts as in Voltaire´s Candide or Nietzsche´s Also sprach Zarathustra--but of literary theories.

1.2 Story, History, and Bricolage:

The idea that many stories, and histories by extension, can be construed from the same set of kernels or facts should serve as a warning to us when we try to distill the meaning from GR and RA. The stringing together of events in a diachronic fashion directed by a pattern of cause and effect might produce a story, but not necessarily the essence of the text. For example, the incidents in

Tiffauges´ life as read and interpreted by the police officer makes up a fiction that designates the "garagiste" as a rapist, although the reader knows an entirely different story from the hero´s "écrits sinistres":

> --Je vais vous raconter une histoire, a-t-il commencé. Il était une fois un garagiste qui vivait en célibataire place de la Porte-des-Ternes...
>
> Et d´un air patelin, il a égrené tout mon dossier, accumulant des précisions dont je n´avais pas eu encore connaissance, la scène du palais Tokyo reconstituée grâce aux photos, l´accident de Jeannot raconté par Mme Eugénie, et de cet agencement compliqué--dont aucune pièce n´était discutable--le viol de Martine découlait avec une rigueur implacable. (RA 199)

Tiffauges keeps a diary of ´meaningful´ coincidences or incidents that are not linked together by causality, and consequently we will have to decipher the text of RA synchronically. The history, written with the left hand, of the sinister side, is thus the story of the subterranean world where members of Abel´s "panthéon personnel" reside: "Alcibiade et Ponce Pilate, Caligula et Hadrien, Frédéric-Guillaume Ier et Barras, Talleyrand et Raspoutine" (RA 24) and no doubt Gilles de Rais, alias Barbe-Bleue (name of Abel Tiffauges´ horse), of the county Tiffauges and a contemporary of Jeanne d´Arc (cf. Tournier´s novel Gilles et Jeanne [1983]).

The method by which the young Abel finds and selects his candidates is also significant since it defies systematic learning and conventional, bourgeois morality. The high points of world history and the "culture en marge," which according to Abel are submerged in scandals and condemnation, are discovered by him through eclectic searches:

> en feuilletant les dictionnaires, en glanant ce que je pouvais dans des ouvrages de compilation scolaire, en guettant dans un cours d´histoire ou de français l´allusion fugitive à ce qui m´importait au premier chef[...](RA 24, ellipsis added).

As a result, who is to say that the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 29, 1914, marked the birth of "la Grande Guerre," when on that same day the ill-reputed "Raspoutine était poignardé par une prostituée à la solde des nationalistes russes? Immobilisé plusieurs semaines, le staretz ne pourra empêcher Nicolas II [...] de déchaîner le conflit en décrétant la mobilisation générale" (RA 191, ellipsis added).

Tyrone Slothrop´s ancestor, William, the author of a long tract On Preterition, which was banned and burned in Boston, is on the side of the Preterites as well, "the many God passed over when he chooses a few for salvation" and "without whom ther´d be no elect"[...]. "William felt that what Jesus was for the elect, Judas Iscariot was for the Preterite. Everything in the Creation has its equal and opposite counterpart" (GR 647, ellipsis added). Tyrone with history right under his nose at all times also has a different understanding of its events, causes, and course. The map of London dotted with rocket strikes, for instance, is a map of sexual conquests in Tyrone´s version, and when in Berlin in July, 1945, recovering six kilos of hashish for Saüre at the old Neubabelsberg studios (where Lang filmed Metropolis and Die Frau im Mond), Tyrone is only dimly aware of "something going on over there?" "A conference or some shit?" at nearby Potsdam (GR 430).

As for recognizing history in the making, the young American's memory and vision are full of blind spots. On Friedrichstrasse, for example, "giant photographs are posted" and "Slothrop recognizes Churchill and Stalin all right [whom he has never actually seen] but isn't sure about the other one":

> "Emil, who's that guy in the glasses?" "The American president. Mister Truman." "Quit fooling. Truman is vice-president. Roosevelt is president." Saüre raises an eyebrow. "Roosevelt died back in the spring. Just before surrender." (GR 434)

"Roosevelt was his president, the only one he'd known," but ironically Tyrone never actually saw him either:

> Almost saw him once too, in Pittsfield, but Lloyd Nipple, the fattest kid in Mingeborough, was standing in the way, and all Slothrop got to see was a couple of wheels and the feet of some guys in suits on a running-board. Hoover he'd heard of, dimly--something to do with shack towns or vacuum cleaners-- (GR 435)

When approaching the house at 2 Kaiserstrasse at the old film studios where the dope is buried, Slothrop reads the sign that "sez THE WHITE HOUSE," the compound for the American contingent at the Potsdam Conference. The ignorant Tyrone is so close to history that he can touch it, and yet, when he peeks through the window to observe the partying, he instantly recognizes Mickey Rooney in the flesh. For the rest, he "sees somebody looks a bit like Churchill[...] and maybe, maybe he even gets a glimpse of that President Truman" (GR 445, ellipsis added).

To Tiffauges, then, the "sinister" side of reality and by extension history, is truer to his heart than the official version is. In fact, the French ogre is incapable of comprehending the concept of an objective reality that is independent of his own consciousness. To Slothrop, history is elusive, since it only appears to him on a secondary level and always in an incomplete or mocking form. The two works in which the naive characters act do not, however, stop at the solipsistic view of history or the idea that history is only derivational like the shadows in Plato´s cave. If that were so, GR and RA would resemble the modernist masterpieces, like Absalom, Absalom!, which explore the nature of history, history writing, and the process of recording historical facts. Neither do the two novels appear as mythologized versions of history, as does the imbedded narrative, the writing on the walls, in Famous Last Words. Instead, they are myths of a different kind, assembled from disparate bits, some of them historical, in the fashion of Lévi-Strauss´ bricolages as described in La Pensée sauvage.

From his studies of peoples without writing--of primitives--Lévi-Strauss came to the conclusion that mythical reflection, which we will refer to as totemic logic (*logique totémique*) or *bricolage* to distinguish it from other definitions of myth, is analogous to intellectual *bricolage*:

> Le bricoleur est apte à exécuter un grand nombre de tâches diversifiées; mais, à la différence de l'ingénieur, il ne subordonne pas chacune d'elles à l'obtention de matières premières et d'outils, conçus et procurés à la mesure de son projet: son univers instrumental est clos, et la règle de son jeu est de toujours s'arranger avec les "moyens du bord," c'est-à-dire un ensemble à chaque instant fini d'outils et ~~de~~ matériaux, hétéroclites au surplus, parce que la composition de l'ensemble n'est pas en rapport avec le projet du moment, ni d'ailleurs avec aucun projet particulier, mais est le résultat contingent de toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées de renouveler ou d'enrichir le stock, ou de l'entretenir avec les résidus de constructions et de destructions antérieures.[15]

To stress the fundamental difference between this totemic logic and systematic thinking, Lévi-Strauss notes that not only are new 'mythological' worlds built from the fragments of previously shattered worlds, like Phoenix from its own ashes, but that the fragments are coded with messages from other contexts:

> dans cette incessante reconstruction à l'aide des mêmes matériaux, ce sont toujours d'anciennes fins qui sont appelées à jouer le rôle de moyens: les signifiés se changent en signifiants, et inversement.[16]

We suggest that postmodernist works, like GR and RA, resemble these 'primitive' totemic constructions which Lévi-Strauss likens to the structure and mechanism of a kaleidoscope whose bits and pieces have been torn from one discourse only to be parts of another.[17]

When Timothy Findley "boils down" historical events and figures to a nearly archetypal essence,[18] and in the process adds a catalytic ingredient in the form of Mauberley's witnessing and recording of the events, he has created an alternative interpretation of standard history rather than a new myth altogether. Tournier and Pynchon (in RA and GR) are myth-makers in the most general and technical sense of the word in that they observe the rules dictated by a closed system; but they are also creators of *textes de bricolage* that illustrate Lévi-Strauss' formula. The critical confusion surrounding the relationship between myth, history, and postmodernist *bric-à-brac* is partly due to differences of definition. The structuralist definition of myth stresses the concepts of enclosure, system, and structure, the definition we have used for texts, essentially, and in this sense the term refers to all kinds of stories, including *Famous Last Words*, *Le Roi des Aulnes*, and *L'Histoire de la révolution*, and therefore the simple open-ended chronological recording of events would not qualify. From a modern sociological perspective, myth refers to something which was originally true, but has since become distorted or false. In the context of history writing, Frank Kermode distinguishes between fictions and myths, in that the former "can degenerate into myths whenever they are not consciously held to be fictive"(e.g. anti-semitism).

"Myths," he continues, "call for absolutes, fictions for conditional assent,"[19] and it is only in this sense that myths, even literary ones, can become dangerous to a society. Postmodernist narratives cannot by their very anarchic flaunting of their self-referential nature become mythologized history (in Kermode's sense), whereas the account by Hugh Selwyn Mauberley might indeed be so labelled.[20]

1.3 Elusive and Historical Characters:

The novels have memorable protagonists to be sure, but they act as personified puns rather than characters. Abel Tiffauges, for example, has different names in different contexts: "A.T." (A toi pour la vie) (27), "Mabel" (ma belle) (60), Abel the first nomad (57), Tiffauges (as in the region of Gilles de Rais, alias Barbe-Bleue), "petit Fauges" (60), "Tiefauge" (406), "Triefauge" (407). From being a solitary mechanic in la Porte-des-Ternes, Tiffauges turns into a monster with a preference for raw meat, later becomes a prisoner of war, and eventually ends up being the unofficial director of a Nazi Napola (NPEA or Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt). The significance of his trade is based on the fact that the automobile, a self-contained unit, carries people (hence la phorie) and is an "instrument par excellence de la migration" (58) (Abel is a nomad) and that the advertising logo "Mobilgas" depicting a "cheval ailé" (15) refers to the subsequently appearing

"Ange Anal" and indirectly to Pegasus, the favourite steed of all the poets. His later occupations are neither based on credible circumstances nor on self-propelled motivations, but are designed to reinforce the phoric motif. Physically speaking, he is a phoric giant, myopic, and "microgénitomorphe" (206).

All Pynchon's characters are similarly vehicles for puns, motifs, and self-referential themes. Slothrop, who is also on a quest for his own identity in the zone, appears in several disguises, as the innocent and ignorant British war correspondent Ian Scuffling, as Rocketman in cape and helmet, as a certain Max Schlepzig (former actor), as a pig-hero named "Plechazunga" in a pagan ritual, and as the lover of many unlikely females. His final scattering has more to do with the themes of textual integration and disintegration, of paranoia and antiparanoia in reading practices, and of assemblies and fragmentations of novelistic personae than with consistent story-telling. The importance of him as a character is even doubtful. As a "spokesman for the counterforce" admits: "We were never that concerned with Slothrop _qua_ Slothrop[...] some even called him a pretext" (861, ellipsis added).

Moreover, we propose that not only the protagonist, but the entire novel, and by extension all texts are "pretexts" in the literal sense of appearing before the actual Text begins. In Pynchon's fictional world, everything eludes certainty, despite the novel's verbosity, and while patterns of meaning can be approximated to explain reality and history, the Real is not possible to reach. From Slothrop's example, we can assume that the closer we come to the 'point' of comprehending everything, the closer we are to experiencing a scattering of all the clues so laboriously collected (see Entropy, chapt. IV, 8).

The most poignant metaphor for the novel as a pre-text or ante-text is the V-2 rocket itself which in contrast to the older V-1 goes faster than sound: "these things explode first, a-and _then_ you hear them coming in. Except that, if you're dead, you _don't_ hear them" (GR 27). The anticipation of the real Text, alias reality, appears only as a sign in the sky, that is, everything we write or create artistically to reproduce life is only a form of 'noisy' anticipation. From St. John we learned that in the beginning was the Word, the breaking of a silence that eventually would lead to the cataclysm revealed to the same St. John on the island of Patmos. In Slothrop's cosmology, the process is reversed: "It's nothing he can see or lay hands on--sudden gases, a violence upon the air and no trace afterward..a Word, spoken with no warning into your ear, and then silence forever" (GR 28). How this mysterious rush in the sky can be mediated and heard through factual details relating to history is the topic of the second half of this chapter.

The historical characters maintain a status very different from that of the elusive fictional characters. As in _Waverley_, there are in GR and RA many references to historical dates, people, phenomena, events, and actual places of which the majority function as general reference points to the real world, as opposed to a fantasy world. Only a few of these people function as active characters, and only a limited number of events and places are of historical significance, by which I mean that their existence contributes to our shared understanding of the course of history. In RA Hermann Göring has a major role to play, while others, like Hitler and Dr. Mengele, are merely mentioned. In GR, references to a number of scientists, film stars, business moguls, and politicians are made in passing, but only a few, like Walter Rathenau, interact directly with fictional characters.

Like Bonnie Prince Charlie in Scott´s Waverley, Reichsmarchall and Reichsjägermeister Hermann Göring plays two roles in Tournier´s narrative, albeit for different reasons; it is in the capacity of the Master of the Hunt that he is portrayed as "l´ogre de Rominten" and as a "magicien subalterne" (RA 306-7). Tournier explains in Le Vent Paraclet that in order to overcome the technical problem of combining the realistic aspects of his story with the fairy-tale aspects, he chose a kind of "hyperréalisme, hyperrationalisme" which would join the two different worlds "par un paroxysme de précision." Göring´s hunting resort, Jägerhof, is therefore depicted in minute detail and with such precision that Albert Speer, according to Tournier, asked the author in surprise how he, at his age and as a

Frenchman, could have been invited to Jägerhof (whereas in fact Tournier had studied the since long-forgotten memoirs by the last warden of Rominten).[21] As an ogre and master of magic rites, Göring appears as a grotesque, thigh-slapping, anti-intellectual creature with a penchant for hunting that under his direction has become a cult "à la fois amoureux, sacrificiel et alimentaire" (RA 319). On one occasion he shares the leg of a roast boar with a fellow ogre, a real lion domesticated as a pet (RA 322), and on another he plunges his hands into the still warm flesh of a stag in order to remove its testicles (RA 329). Not only is "l'ogre de Rominten" "sacrificateur officiel de l'Ange Phallophore" (RA 331) (the latter refers to the stag whose antlers correspond to its phallic potency), but an expert on the droppings of game, the so-called discipline of "coprologie" (RA 334). We will see later how the phallic, coprological, and sacrificial acts connect with the rest of the text and become metatextual comments rather than historical allegories.

In Peter Sacha's sitting room "full of Chinese ivory and silk hangings," circa 1930, the "elite" from the "corporate Nazi crowd" contact in a séance the ghost of Walter Rathenau, the Jew and Weimar statesman who was assassinated in 1922. The two identities of Rathenau, as matter and spirit, are neatly juxtaposed by means of a short encyclopedic entry on what the histories say about this "prophet and architect of the cartelized state" (GR 192-93).

Rathenau now belongs to "the other side" where time and history have lost their meaning: "here it's possible to see the whole shape at once" (GR 193), not unlike the Tralfamadorian perspective of all time and space described in Slaughterhouse Five (SF 27; see examples VI and VII in Chapter IV, 10). Several key concepts pertaining to the cosmology of GR are evoked by the spirit, but like most spiritual revelations, these messages are cryptic. One such message is the reference to "Mauve." The allusion is not lost on Smaragd, who is Generaldirektor of the historical IG Farben and present at the séance, since mauveine was the first synthetic dye to be made from coal tar. Behind the innocent appearance of the colour, however, lie the concepts of synthesis and control, the two evil forces in GR. The "whole shape" that Rathenau claims to have glimpsed is held together by "links" or connections, another malign concept. One such link is Oneirine, a synthetic drug, which somehow converges with the mauve-plot, according to the spirit, a connection that is only revealed to the reader later in the novel. The sketch of the drug's molecular structure, as seen by Rathenau, is further connected geographically with the United States, and through the Rapallo Treaty (which Rathenau signed), with Russia. Finally, the Treaty made possible the industrial connection between Krupp and Russia, by allowing the export of agricultural machinery to Russia. The connections between dyes, drugs, steel and politics are literally endless once the "synthetic" approach to explaining the world has been chosen, and although Rathenau´s allusions border on the absurd, it is hard to disprove them. The final warning to the IG Farben Generaldirektor is that "polymerizing is not resurrection," it is rather a movement "from death to death-transfigured" (GR 194) (from dead matter, carbon tar, to other dead matter, like plastic or rocket fuel).

The implication of all this ´spiritual´ wisdom is that secular history determined by cause and effect is "a diversionary tactic" and that real control has its basis in synthesis which in turn only spreads death. Meanwhile "the preterite stay outside, gossiping" about the latest scandal involving IG Farben and a subsidiary Spottbilligfilm AG which, without much foresight, had proposed a design for "a new airborne ray which could turn whole populations, inside a ten-kilometer radius, stoneblind." The irony is that it "had slipped their collective mind what such a weapon would do to the dye market after the next war" (GR 191). To the preterite as to Slothrop, the way of the world is a farce without any other motive than the profit motive.

Like Rathenau, IG Farben also has a dual role in the narrative, one with a Gothic-farcical dimension and one with a real-historical dimension. Synthetic circles of fictional plot elements are evoked through the connection between the mad scientists´ IG Farben and their bizarre products, such as the hallucinogenic Oneirine, the chemical substance Kryptosam which can inscribe messages in sperm, and the mysterious erectile plastic, Imipolex G, the substance that keeps the novel together. The fictitious Imopolex G "is nothing more--or--less sinister than a new plastic, an aromatic heterocyclic polymer." The research for the polymers was originally done by Carothers, "The Great Synthesist" of duPont, we are told, who strove for three main properties, "Strength, Stability and Whiteness (Kraft, Standfestigkeit, Weiße: how often these were taken for Nazi graffiti)" (GR 290). At the historical level synthetic circles of possible, factual plot elements are also suggested, such as links between various cartels, IG Farben, Shell (GR 278, 283), duPont, Ciba, Geigy (GR 291), and Krupp.

In the Rathenau passage, as in many others, Pynchon uses technical terminology, corporate and institutional jargon, including real and fictitious acronyms (e.g. ACHTUNG, Allied Clearing House, Technical Units, Northern Germany), and tradename-realism (all of which we will call techno-realism for short) to glue the historical references to the Gothic or fantastic aspects. Although different from Tournier´s hyperrealism and hyperrationalism, Pynchon´s specialized languages achieve the same effect as do Tournier´s devices. In Pynchon´s twilight area of neon signs belonging to vocabularies of the initiated, reality and fantasy are not kept apart, but are consciously merged to effect the ontological vertigo so characteristic of postmodernism. Both Pynchon´s and Tournier´s devices, however, fail to establish an immediate ground connection with anything historically real.

The dual role of the Prince in Waverley makes it possible to read the story at two levels simultaneously, with the result that the reader feels confident that a slice of history has been narrated through a story. The similar dual roles of Tournier's Göring and Pynchon's Rathenau do not, however, satisfy the requirements for a historical narrative for several reasons. First, the lack of verisimilitude in the narratives at large is a major obstacle, although it is possible to have disguised, simulated historical accounts (e.g. Animal Farm). More importantly, the successful undercutting of the connection between the historical references and the historical code is mainly achieved through Tournier's hyperrealism and Pynchon's techno-realism. The self-referential code does not in itself sever the link with the historical code, but since the former brings the narrative to the point of self-annihilation, it will sweep the historical references along, often with the implication of representing a historical cataclysm. Hence the historical references are suspended throughout the narrative because of the peculiar kinds of 'non-realistic' modes, and it is only at the completion of the reading process that the Real aspects of the historical references will separate themselves from their fabulous doubles (e.g. Göring from the ogre of Rominten, and Rathenau from the ghost). At this point they will join the cumulative centripetal force, established by the self-referential code, which will point to the Reality of the text and the Reality of any historical references that the text may contain.

Summa summarum, the diachronic stories in the two novels are not mythologized histories or tales that function as reinforcements for an otherwise undisturbed historical narrative, as in the case of Waverley. Nor should they be interpreted as alternatives to conventional history, that is, as sinister (RA) or comic versions (GR) which would attribute the real causes and effects to the Rasputins and the Mickey Rooneys. However, in a technical sense they are myths (closed systems) and narrative bricolages, and moreover they are self-conscious, closed systems. Rather than the references themselves, then, the subversive aspect of the historical references, coupled with the self-referential code, should be considered as a means to bring about two related trans-historical phenomena. One is what Tournier calls "le rire blanc"[22] and the other is a phenomenological affirmation of the Reality of certain historical events. The latter trans-historical phenomenon is the visionary truth that is "so terrible that history--at best a conspiracy, not always among gentlemen, to defraud--will never admit it," as in the moments "when power and the ignorance of power come together, with Death as validator." Conventional history, for example, has only bland phrases to offer in regard to what passes between assassinated and assassinator, such as "Et tu, Brute" which "says exactly nothing" (GR 192). What Pynchon offers is a long "pre-text" in anticipation of the moment when the "bright angel of death," alias the Rocket, swoops in (GR 887). The former phenomenon is related to the subversive potential of all literature of comedy, a theme that is also explored in Il nome della rosa in which the only extant copy of Aristotle´s book on comedy, guarded by Jorge and sought by William of Baskerville, causes the final destruction.

With Borges and Conan Doyle as witnesses, the step from Aristotle´s alleged theory of comedy to the cosmic or sacred aspect of Tournier´s and Pynchon´s texts is perhaps pretentious and even illusory, but nevertheless one we will pursue, as it offers the promise of a vision that goes beyond both linear historicism and social satire. After all, when dealing with magicians, one must always run the risk of being tricked, as our hero Harry Houdini, when suspended upside down over Broadway, knew better than anyone (see Chapter IV, Ex. IV).

Part 2

Barthes suggested five codes as a means to decipher a classical text directly at the discourse level. As he progressed through "Sarrasine," lexia by lexia, it became apparent that irreducible antithetical patterns can be generated from the symbolic code aided by the cultural codes.[23] To illustrate this kind of reading, we might briefly relate Lévi-Strauss´ ingenious interpretation of a simple myth from Western Canada, "The Skate and the South Wind." The skate, a large flat fish, has the characteristics of appearing large when seen from above or below and extremely thin when seen in profile, and it is thus capable of turning ´off and on,´ "in terms of cybernetics." The South wind that hitherto has blown continuously to all animals´ and men´s dismay is now persuaded by the skate to blow intermittently, ´off or on,´ so that "mankind can fulfill its activities." The fight between the fish and the wind, when perceived in terms of their concrete and detailed properties (which are of course never explicated in the tale, but are only assumed), no longer appears paradoxical or illogical to the reader.[24]

As far as self-referential texts are concerned, the five codes still apply, but in order to keep track of the references pertaining to the text or texts in general, we suggest the addition of a self-referential code [SELF-REF]. While the antithesis and its rhetorical companion,the paradox, will persist in postmodernist texts, the introduction of textual self-consciousness will overshadow the dialectic structure and instead create a dominant pattern which we will refer to as centrifugal/centripetal; centrifugal because of the evasion of referential meaning and centripetal because of the constant returning to the text as an object.

In the following analysis of RA and GR, the first part is a brief description of the extra-textual code, including the historical code, and its function. The subsequent six parts are descriptions of some variations of the self-referential code as manifested in the two works. In our selection of examples from the texts, we will focus on passages that deal with historical information or are relevant to contexts of historical importance.

2.1 The Extra-textual Code: References to History and Other Texts

"Un mythe est une histoire que tout le monde connaît déjà."[25]

Tournier's definition is Aristotelian in the sense that mythos refers to a traditional story, and Jungian because it stresses the archetypal foundation of traditional stories and characters (e.g. the archetypal twins). RA is based on various biblical stories, myths, legends, and fairy tales, which Tournier then strips more or less of their period rhetoric and cultural/sacred connotations and presents in their skeletal archetypal and/or structural components.

Another class of extra-textual references "que tout le monde connaît déjà" is the one we have called historical. In contrast to the artistic references, the historical references do not immediately combine with the inter-textual and self-referential codes to form a larger system. As long as we accept Göring as an ogre and Rathenau as a ghost from the Other Side, the three codes combine smoothly and provide the respective texts with the necessary 'boot-strap' lift.

When we try to make sense of the historical references as indicators of the actual past, however, the sailing becomes rough. Because of their predominant self-referentiality, RA and GR reduce the diachronic dimension of the historical references greatly (in contrast to Waverley, in which the ´story´ reinforced the diachronic dimension), while amplifying the synchronic dimension of the sign systems in which the historical indicators are present. While the ´reality´ of the historical facts cannot be denied, the progressive, historicist relationship between the facts is definitely undermined. In RA and GR, the focus is not on the nature of historical facts, but rather on the reading of the facts; even so, the problematics of historical interpretation is only analogous and secondary to the theme of reading in general.

The immediate choices are, it seems, to ´read´ the past as a synchronic system, to use Saussure´s term (a process that is immanently paranoid) or to regard individual historical facts as isolated incidents without any meaningful relationships (Pynchon´s "anti-paranoia" (GR 506)). The third possibility is to unite the sign (the text) with the referent (the real world) through an elaborate process involving the self-referential code (see section 2.7, The Sacrifice).

Other extra-textual con/texts in RA include a virtually unknown Canadian novel, The Golden Snare by James Oliver Curwood, which nevertheless serves as a model for an archetypal landscape later to be ´transformed´ into the East Prussian hinterland. The list of texts that have been incorporated into RA as con/texts is quite extensive, and we will only mention the most important: Genesis, with Tournier´s unique concept of "la chute de l´homme" (33-35); the hagiographic legend of St. Christopher from Jacques de Voragine´s Légende dorée (the ´golden´ motif is recurrent in RA); Goethe´s "Erlkönig"; Mozart´s opera Don Giovanni; Collodi´s "Pinocchio"; Perrault´s "Barbe-Bleue"; the fabled man-eating Ogre; the myth of Atlas; and famous paintings and sculptures of biblical and mythical figures.

Pynchon is equally fond of traditional tales. In GR, he includes a large range of extra-textual con/texts from literature, philosophy, music, film, and popular culture. One of the central con/texts is Grimm´s fairy tale "Hansel und Gretel" which Pynchon reduces to its archetypal and structural components (lost children, house of allurement, witch, oven). Other works are Rilke´s poetry; Fritz Lang´s Die Frau im Mond, Metropolis, and Nibelungen (adapted from Wagner´s Ring-cycle); the Kabala (and the derivative Tarot cards); and King Kong--all of which provide transformational con/texts for characters and events.

Two things should be noted. First of all, the artistic con/texts point to the inter-textual code which itself refers to the larger system of interdependent texts. In addition, they function as indicators of the self-referential code that is unique to the self-consistent texts called Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity's Rainbow. Obvious examples are the references to the ogre and the erl-king in RA, and the angel and the witch in GR that all point to the inter-textual and self-referential codes simultaneously.

2.2 References to Texts as Closed Systems and Structures (Wholeness, Transformations, Self-regulation, Synchrony/Synchronicity)

RA:

The boarding school, "collège de Saint-Christophe," which the young Tiffauges attends is "un monde clos" dominated by the monstrous boy Nestor (145). The enclosure is repeated in the con/texts of Hermann Göring's Jägerhof and in the Napola Kaltenborn. The structure of each compound is a closed con/text, and through Tiffauges' words the castle resembles a postmodern text containing other con/texts "comme une petite cité" (373) complete with epigraphs quoting Nietzsche, Goethe and Hitler. The epigraphs adorn the walls and a "signature du destin" is hidden under a thicket of bushes covered in snow at the base of the big tower which is supported on "les épaules d'un Atlante de bronze" (360-61) (ref. to the phoric motif).

Because their lives are completely regulated, the inhabitants of Kaltenborn themselves form a closed community and a simple system. Tiffauges devises a special roll-call that underlines the properties of the simple system as well as his sense of power and possession:

> la démonstration pleine, entière, circulaire, de quatre cents individualités enfermées entre des murs étroits et absolument disponibles. (508)

Thus the single act of enumerating (which would have referred to the text as a differential entity) is transformed into a self-contained, possessed world. The horrible fact that the closed system so much celebrated by Tiffauges resembles the very real, but to him unknown concentration camp at Auschwitz is anticipated.

Three unrelated events (themes for Tiffauges´ vocation) become "un ensemble cohérent" (145) through Nestor: "Rachel et l´acte pur (puissance =0). Jeannot et l´eu-phorie. Les leçons de la Bible sur l´Adam archaïque." Viewing Abel´s life as a frame and heeding Flaubert´s aphorism: "Pour qu´une chose soit intéressante, il suffit de la regarder longtemps"(12), the reader will at the end of the text see the significance of the closed world shaped by the three themes.

The production of photographs provides a range of concepts pertaining to structural transformation, such as metamorphosis, inversions, double inversions, permutations, duplications, enlargements, reversibility, as well as notions associated with magic ("la messe noire" [175]), alchemy ("dans les bacs de révélateur, d´arrêt et de fixage" [176]), and possession:

> Car si le vaste monde est une réserve de chasse inépuisable--et qui désespère l´exhaustion--mon vivier d´images est lui tout à fait fini--quelle

> que soit sa richesse--, mon puéril cheptel est compté, dénombré, et j'en connais, comme il se doit, toutes les ressources. Enfin le nombre fini de mes négatifs est justement équilibré par la possibilité que j'ai de tirer de chacun d'eux un nombre infini d'images positives. L'infini empirique ramené d'abord au fini de ma collection redevient un infini possible, mais cette fois il ne se déploie qu'à travers moi seul. Par la photographie, l'infini sauvage devient un infini domestique. (177)

Twins and doubles are especially fascinating to Tiffauges, and they are often associated with coincidences and a higher cosmic order (synchronicity). The twin pigeons (phoric creatures carrying coded messages) are genetically engineered, and together they form "un gros oeuf de plumes" (226). They anticipate not only the beloved twin brothers Haïo and Haro in Napola Kaltenborn, but also the meaningful, coincidental inversion of benign genealogy and genetic engineering into the malign kind practiced by the Nazi. Furthermore, the consummation of the pigeons mirrors the later sacrifice of the young boys.

Tiffauges' own double, Weidmann, the killer of seven, whose public execution is witnessed by Tiffauges, functions mainly as a blatantly plotted coincidence (164). However, the dangling incident is also a metaphor for the annihilation of the self (the text) by a machine with a defect, an unbalanced guillotine that cannot fulfill the routine gestures of death (the not-so-well-executed plot) (190). The decapitation also foreshadows the later incident at Kaltenborn where despiritualization of a body is best observed in the mirror twins and in the decapitated body of

Hellmut which had become "une masse homogène et dure qui n'était plus que forme et poids" (538). As the reader eventually learns, the allegorization of the text as dead weight ("de poids mort") is successfully completed at the close of the novel.

Tiffauges' fifteen-minute recording of children's play on a playground works as a metaphor for a chaotic reality and a recorded history which are eventually transformed into a coherent whole by the recording's 'framing' and subsequent repeated interpretations. In Tiffauges' 'sinister' words, echoing those of Flaubert, chaos will with patience and infinite attention change into something significant (165-66).

Fate is forever adding twists to Tiffauges' life and confirming that the universe can act as a practical joker (and hence confirming Jung's notion of synchronicity) or that a text, a structure or a sign will with the intervention of a reader/interpreter eventually become significant. In Nestor's prophetic words: "A force de frapper à coups redoublés sur la même porte, elle finit toujours par s'ouvrir" (62). Mad Victor's success-story could thus only happen in a 'text.' From being an inmate at mental homes in France, Victor with his "rire hennissant" (260) becomes a fellow prisoner of war with Tiffauges and later the assistant to the mayor of a German town where Tiffauges, as Göring's protégé, meets him (395). The two Frenchmen's personal stories are uncannily alike, but more important, their unusual situations resemble the ´text´ of the gyroscope, the young Abel´s favourite toy. The gyroscope is an ingenious construction which, with its movement, can demonstrate the rotation of the earth. Paradoxically, as the monstrous Nestor points out, "ce mouvement que tu suis des yeux...n´existe pas!...Le gyroscope a le don d´échapper au mouvement terrestre, et c´est pourquoi il paraît tourner. En vérité, c´est nous qui tournons autour de lui" (60). The motif of the movement of the earth captured in a construction which exists on the earth itself is Borgesian in both a literary and metaphysical sense, and the memory of Nestor´s "clé de l´absolu" (59) is later recalled by Tiffauges when he realizes that his own personal destiny is linked to the course of History: "dans chacun de mes os, je ressentais le battement sourd du coeur du monde" (201). At the level of plot-construction both Victor and Tiffauges are prisoners in a non-occupied country (Germany), but with time they themselves become persons in power (unofficially and by chance) in charge of German citizens. Lack of restraint is thus found in the curious inverted situation where the prisoner supervises the conquerors, a situation which appears as a tension point in the plot formation and that is only resolved by a renewed inversion ending in a general cataclysm: Tiffauges´ power in the Napola increases in step with the German surrender on the Eastern front.

A more simplistic transformation of signs is the creation of the Nazi flag and insignia. According to the

Kommandant of Kaltenborn, the three colours, red, white and black, were restored from the old flag of the Bismarck Empire, but in an arrangement that mocked the peaceful implication of the adopted Maltese cross. The reversal of the original Prussian eagle from ´dexter´ to ´sinister´ in the Nazi emblem has likewise a special meaning for Tiffauges, the man whose life is shaped by inversions and transformations, and by a new personality born from his own ´sinister´ writing.

The motif of the heraldic emblem depicting three creatures impaled is repeated throughout the novel. Nestor, the child-monster of perversions, relates the unsavoury story about a baron of the sixteenth century who manipulated the factions of the religious wars to meet his own delight in watching (voyeurism) men literally fall to their deaths (motif related to the Fall from Eden, as reinterpreted by Tiffauges, and to the fall of the Third Reich). The dance with death on the edge of "l´abîme," the ensuing fall and the final impaling "sur des lances fichées dans le sol au pied de la tour" evoke a sense of "euphorie cadente" not only in the baron, but also in Tiffauges (80-82). The impaling motif is later coupled with the number three, as the arms of the counts of Kaltenborn are "d´argent à trois épées de gueule dressées en pal au chef de sable" (363), and of course with the colours red, white and black, as Tiffauges learns from the inn-keeper of the Trois Epées. The bronze swords are later shown to our hero on the terrace of

Kaltenborn castle where they "coupaient par trois fois de leurs lames formidables l'horizon calme et moutonnant de forêts et de lacs" all while the Jungmannen sing of the victory of Germany (403). Although the emblem is intricately related to the history of Prussia--its past, present, and future--the Kommandant's gesture, as he "caressait de la main avec un respect affectueux le métal verdi des lames surhumaines" (404), reflects more on the synchronic structure of the text than it does on actual historical facts or a sense of historical depth--as did the heraldic bear in Waverley.

The most disturbing variation on the swords is at the end of "L'Astrophore" where the textual apocalypse takes place. The passage is narrated with the typical sang-froid of hyper-realism which unmercifully includes every gory detail. The three former favourites of Tiffauges--Haïo, Haro and Lothar--who were also objects of genetic interest for the raciological centre, are found impaled on the bronze swords as if Fate had followed the instructions indicated on the emblem:

> les deux jumeaux roux encadrant en compagnons fidèles l'enfant aux cheveux blancs, percés d'oméga en alpha, les yeux grands ouverts sur le néant, et la pointe des épées faisait à chacun d'eux une blessure différente. (577)

Despite his innocence, Lothar in the middle becomes a malign inversion of the Christ-figure, because the narrator's sense of perverted satisfaction overshadows his sense of pity and even horror:

> Lothar avait la tête renversée en arrière. Il ouvrait la bouche et serrait les dents sur la pointe de l´épée qui les disjoignait. Il était empalé tout droit, les jambes unies, les bras collés au corps, comme le parfait fourreau de la lame vénérable qui le traversait. (577-78)

GR:

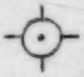
The mandala or the closed circle refers in its most stylized form to the closed text. A more sophisticated allegory is the concept, already mentioned, of synthesis (plastic, corporations, Nazism) that combines artificiality and dead matter with the notions of connectedness and wholeness. World War Two is therefore not ´really´ a series of battles between nations but a synthetic text, a celebration of organic markets, "carefully styled "black" [sic] by the professionals" (122). Also, the modern war-state characterized by a "lush maze of initials, arrows solid and dotted, boxes big and small, names printed and memorized" (88) has no longer, according to Brigadier Pudding, any resemblance to the old system based on a "Chain of Command," which again was modelled on the earlier "Chain of Being" (88). If the labyrinthine war-state is similar to the structure of the postmodern society in general, Pudding´s assigned unit "The White Visitation" turns out to resemble a Pynchonian novel in particular:

> he found a disused hospital for the mad, a few token lunatics, an enormous pack of stolen dogs, cliques of spiritualists, vaudeville entertainers, wireless technicians. Couéists,

> Ouspenskians, Skinnerites, lobotomy enthusiasts, Dale Carnegie zealots, all exiled by the outbreak of the war from pet schemes and manias damned[....](89, ellipsis added)

Similarly the connections of the old boys´ club at Harvard and Oxford are perceived by Tantivy and Slothrop as a "peculiar structure" where "the ´educating´ part of it is just sort of a front" (225).

The so-called sex-molecule is acted out on the Fascist vessel Anubis (the god of death) where everybody, except for one person, is literally connected sexually to each other through various orifices. The lone on-looker (voyeur) is ironically a "Jap liaison man" (545), Morituri (of the ones about to die) who only longs to return to his pretty and serene home town of Hiroshima (559).

The transformation of the angel-motif is one that persists throughout the novel. Roger Mexico explains to Jessica the difference between statistical probability patterns of V-bomb incidents and individual people´s chances for survival. The former equation is for angels only, however, while no predictions can be made for the individual (62). Later Roger makes "angels in the snow" (66), a gesture that combines the shapes of the cross and the circle, as in a gun sight. As several critics have noted, Pynchon´s angels owe their existence to the ones created by Rilke in his ninth and tenth Elegies.[26] The exact quotes and borrowed images and names (e.g. Enzian) will not be discussed here, but suffice it to mention that Rilke´s Angel symbolizing transcendence and idealism has in GR been transformed into a silent rocket which only promises destruction. "The White Visitation," or the bureaucratic anti-chamber of Death for which Roger also works, echoes the blinding white light of the rocket-death-angel (39). White is of course the dominant colour in GR as indicated in white plastic, Aryan, white screen, Weissmann and Blicero. Furthermore, the angel image is associated with windmills, as when Katje for example meets Pirate Prentice "by the windmill known as ´The Angel´"(123), a structure that combines the paracletic wind of the rocket with the crossed circle. The Rocket creates "its own wind" (530) as the scientist Fahringer notes, and in the first section of "The Counterforce," Pirate and later Slothrop are haunted by dreams of the deceased dodo killer, Frans van der Groov, heretical dreams that become "exegeses of windmills," turning the mills into giant wheels, spinning crosses and mandalas (723). Rocketman´s (alias Slothrop) famous graffiti (the only diagram in the novel)  is really a drawing of "*the A^4 rocket*, seen from below" (727) and is nothing but a variation on

> other fourfold expressions [...] the cosmic windmill-swastikas, gymnastic symbols FFFF in a circle symmetrically upside down and backward, Frisch Fromm Fröhlich Frei over neat doorways in quiet streets, and crossroads, where you can sit and listen in to traffic from the Other Side, hearing about the future[....] (727, ellipses added)

In case the reader does not already sense the narrator´s mocking tone directed towards her/himself for having successfully connected the obvious story-clues, the narrator points out parenthetically the non-diachronic structure of the Other Side that much resembles the structure in GR:

> (no serial time over there: events are all there in the same eternal moment and so certain messages don´t always "make sense" back here: they lack historical structure, they sound fanciful, or insane). (727)

Upon reflecting on his graffiti, Slothrop himself lies down on the heath "spread-eagled at his ease in the sun" and becomes "a cross himself, a crossroads, a living intersection" who, through bizarre daydreaming, experiences a predictable erection, complete with the planting of mandrake seeds (also one of Tournier´s favoured topics, cf. Vendredi) at the centre of the crossroads, the tearing out of the screaming mandrake root by the Magician´s dog and the simultaneously appearing "very thick rainbow...driven down out of pubic clouds into Earth" (728-29). The latter image is crucial, as the death-rocket-angel is always associated with sexual potency and violence and ultimately with the act of writing. The most memorable passage of historical interest within the angel-context is the one where Slothrop quite accidentally learns about the Hiroshima bombing:

> In one of these streets, in the morning fog, plastered over two slippery cobblestones, is a scrap of newspaper headline, with a wirephoto of a giant cock, dangling in the sky straight downward out of a white pubic bush. The letters
>
> MB DRO
> ROSHI

> appear above the logo of some occupation newspaper, a grinning glamour girl riding astraddle the cannon of a tank, steel penis with slotted serpent head[...] The white image has the same coherence, the hey-lookit-me smugness, as the Cross does. (808-9, ellipsis added)

The power of the bomb is thus not only destructive without the promise of rebirth, but also pornographic. In GR, Blicero, alias Weissmann, the most obsessive of all pornographers and one of the masters of the rocket, succumbs to the same Faustian madness as his infamous literary relation Dr. Strangelove. Along with Pointsman, the Pavlovian fanatic, Blicero is beset by the same kind of inverted power which we recognized in Tiffauges and the earth-humming gyroscope. Consequently, the simple transformations of the angel-motif, with its many added connotations, have invaded several levels of the narrative, including the historical code.

2.3 References to Texts as Games, as Things Possessed, and to Writing as an Act of Possessing.

The following section is not a discussion of game theories as applied to literature and literary theory. Instead, we want to draw attention to the many references in RA and GR to games and game-related concepts which clearly imply that games are texts in the broadest sense of the word. References to games/plays belong therefore to the self-referential code and are essentially not different from the references to structures in general, as discussed in the previous section. Since the notions of games, however, connote concepts such as hunting, possessing, make-believe, play, masks, rituals, and change--which have sociological, psychological and philosophical implications reaching far beyond the formal, structural components--game-references will need special treatment when inserted into historical contexts; or vice versa, historical references must be reconsidered when put into game contexts. In Ragtime, fireworks, including their production, deployment and spectacle, are ironically transformed into firearms. The patriotic celebrations of democracy and independence on the Fourth of July turn into patriotic sacrifices of human lives. At one level game-playing and hunting are innocent pastimes, but with the addition of actual power, the play or make-believe becomes deadly. In both RA and GR, the playful world of fiction is juxtaposed with the serious world of life and death, especially death.

RA:

With a questionable hypothesis of the affinity between war and boys as a basis, Tiffauges arrives at the conclusion that real war is a malign inversion of boys' innocent war-games. Man, he reflects, has lost "l'instinct de jeu et d'affabulation" and in his hands tcys become monstrous weapons: "Le sérieux meurtrier de l'adulte a pris la place de la gravité ludique de l'enfant dont il est le singe, c'est-à-dire l'image inversée" (455-56). In the sad case of the elitist institutions where the boys become younger with each additional year of the war, the relationship between the two pairs boys/toys and men/guns have been inverted once more, in that the guns have taken charge of the boys:

> Le jouet n´est plus porté par l´enfant[....]C´est l´enfant qui est porté par le jouet--englouti dans le char, enfermé dans l´habitacle de l´avion, prisonnier de la tourelle pivotant des mitrailleuses couplées. (456, ellipsis added)

Tiffauges´ revelation, as he notes, is an instance of "bouleversement de la phorie par l´inversion maligne" (456), a phenomenon that refers to the general structure of the text.

Another type of game is the hunting ritual which involves hunters (subjects), quarries (objects), the chase (the act), and rules. The description of Göring´s sophisticated and structured stag and hare hunts illustrates Tiffauges´ obsession with hidden structures in various phenomena (in the spirit of Lévi-Strauss, Tournier´s teacher). On the day of the German surrender at Stalingrad, for example, Göring takes part in a savage slaughter of twelve hundred hares. Although the myopic Frenchman is insensitive to the historical events unfolding around him, the narrator´s juxtaposition of events points to the ironic relationship between the two ´framed´ texts:

> [frame 1] Seul au milieu de ce tendre cimetière, Göring--couronné roi de la chasse avec deux cents lièvres à son actif--prenait la pose devant son photographe officiel, le ventre bombé, le bâton de maréchal levé dans la main droite.
> [frame 2] Le lendemain matin, toute la presse allemande, encadrée de noir, annonçait la

> capitulation à Stalingrad du maréchal von Paulus avec ving-quatre généraux et les cent mille survivants de la VI^e armée. (357)

Possession and domination are the motivating forces behind any game, however innocent it may be. Voyeurism is thus a relatively innocent way of possessing a person, an act, or a ´text,´ although it has its sinister side, as Tiffauges discovers. By means of photographs, Tiffauges feels that he possesses the schoolchildren in the playground, and later at Kaltenborn he is euphoric when in possession of the sleeping children, "réduits à la plus totale soumission" (539-40). The slightly perverted sensation becomes addictive, and soon the benevolent ogre realizes that the increasing intensity of his power is at once atrocious and magnificent.

The master-servant relationship is part and parcel of the possession game and is acted out between various characters in the novel. As mentioned earlier, Tiffauges is at first a prisoner and later the master of a group of people who are being trained as elitist members of the conquerors. Although sado-masochistic bondage is never mentioned, it is felt as the logical extension of several incidents, including Abel´s subservience to Nestor at the latter´s acts of defecation (97) and Abel´s penchant for licking wounds (31, 547) that causes him to experience orgasmic, violent pleasure. Likewise his delight at observing the dead children in their various contorted or peaceful poses after the massacre at Kaltenborn exemplifies his ultimate fulfillment of his master role (522). Tournier's own term for the various manifestations of eroticism is fetishism,[27] and as a neutral concept it covers the acts of reading and deciphering as well. The pleasure gained from peering into other people's lives is of course voyeuristic, and the sensation aroused from solving riddles, plots, and enigmas is one of great satisfaction. The trouble with Tiffauges is that the transition from the benign to the malign act is a purely formalistic inversion that in itself produces euphoria in the subject. The burden of the moral guilt that we usually find in literature dealing with war, torture and other injustice, has, curiously, been freed from the text and transferred to the reader who sees him/herself as the actual voyeur.

GR:

In GR the ludic aspect of war and the war aspect of games are important themes that Pynchon has borrowed from actual history. The amateur rocketeer club VfR (Verein für Raumschiffahrt) which Pökler, "a maniac idealist" (467) belonged to before joining the research project at Nordhausen, Peenemünde in 1937, did exist in Berlin, according to the account by Walter Dornberger (German Army Chief of Staff at Peenemünde) in his *V-2*. It is almost certain that Pynchon read this book as well as other works on V-weapons (named Vergeltungswaffen by Goebbels), as several characters, anecdotes, and facts (scientific and historical) in GR are identical to those in the academic books.[28] However, Pökler's development, which is fictional, serves the rocket theme of the novel. Not only is he a man who enjoys playing with adult toys, in this case with small rocket devices to be sent into space, but he is also a dreamer possessed by the myth of transcendence. In reality, the German Army was more than interested in the amateur project and provided funds to see the A^4-rocket operational. The gravity and sinisterness of the army's intentions had been noted by Leni:

> "They're using you to kill people," Leni told him, as clearly as she could. "That's their only job, and you're helping them."
> "We'll all use it, someday, to leave the earth. to transcend." [...]
> "Someday," honestly trying, "they won't have to kill. Borders won't mean anything. We'll have all outer space...." (466, ellipsis in square brackets added)

From innocent play (motivated by dreams), the rocket project becomes men's "practical" game motivated by sheer power. In a sense, Pökler's fate is similar to Tiffauges', in that both characters refuse to take sides in the political game and instead retreat into timeless dreams or private obsessions. In the end both men become allies of their enemies, and at the same time they become victims of dreams inverted to grim realities. Eventually all the people working at Peenemünde from von Braun down to "the likes of Pökler," are victimized:

> yet they were all equally at the Rocket's mercy:

> not only danger from explosions or falling hardware, but also its dumbness, its dead weight, its obstinate and palpable mystery....(469)

Although the novel ends circa 1947, Pynchon's rocket-story has not ended, as two of the epigraphs indicate, one by Wernher von Braun, who evidently still rejects the notion of extinction and is guided by a spiritual belief in transformation and continuity (1), and the other by Richard M. Nixon, whose line speaks for itself: "What?" (719)

As an antidote to war, which is a game of absolute chance (this concept of war is also shown in Rademakers' De Aanslag), Katje, Gottfried and Blicero ironically find comfort in 'playing' the folktale version of captivity (a structured game): "the strayed children, the wood-life in the edible house, the captivity, the fattening, the Oven" (111). As Pynchon's story continues, however, the perverted play is transformed into a suicidal sacrifice motivated by dreams of the von Braunian kind.

Voyeurism makes up the outer frame of GR, since the novel is a verbal account of a film that breaks on the last page. There are also references to films within the film, to the "recording eye" as being neuter and impotent (252), to the "Eye at the top of the pyramid" (565) as envisioned by the actress Greta Erdmann (Gretel) in her ecstatic moments of masochism. After a description of one of Slothrop's sexual conquests, the narrator asks in an ominous voice, as if he had jumped from the pages of Robbe-Grillet's La

Jalousie: "And who´s that, through the crack in the orange shade breathing carefully? Watching?" (140).

Pornographic scenes are acted out very graphically in GR, notably in three passages: one in Holland, starring Blicero, Gottfried and Katje.(107-32); one in London at "The White Visitation," starring Brigadier Ernest Pudding and Domina Nocturna, alias Katje (263-75); and one in Berlin, at the deserted Neubabelsberg studios where before the war, Gerhardt von Göll directed pornographic horror movies, e.g. Alpdrücken (456-62). Very generally the pornographic references stand as metaphors for and manifestations of colonial "buggery," capitalism, wartime mass slaughter, rocket worship and ´reader-voyeurism´ ("--ahh, that sigh when we guess the murderer--all these novels, these films and songs they lull us with" [181]). As an example, we will describe the first passage (107-32).

The episode is a leisure-time play-acting of "Hansel und Gretel" in an isolated house in the forest near Duindigt in Holland. The house is a place of retreat for the three ´actors´ who are all employed at the nearby military rocket launching site, Schußstelle 3. The passage combines many of the signs, motifs and themes that are central to the transformational process of the novel: observing camera eye, "Destroying Angel," real and figurative Ovens, decay (Blicero), passive observance and docility (Gottfried), bondage and submission, witch-paranoia (Blicero), political and sexual transvestism (Katje), Doppel-gänger-motif (white

Gottfried, black Enzian), synthetic rubber, formal game rules (as opposed to chaotic war), the merging of condemned and condemner (launch site equals target), Rilkean change (Blicero's obsession), colonial buggery (African Südwest), meta-solutions ("knocking over the chess board," quitting the game), extinction (Dodo), the changing sign of the mandala/sun-wheel/swastika/tree of life (cf. the image of the Hiroshima bomb [809]).

The section as a whole is an incident of ludic _mise-en-abîme_ that at the story-level is an inescapable loop, but which, because of the wealth of connotations, connects with many other con/texts of the novel. The opening sentence introduces the reader to a silent, hidden camera that _follows_ the Dutch agent Katje Borgenius at a maisonette in London 1944. An imbedded narrative is added from "inside" Katje, as she looks in the mirror and recalls events from Duindigt hidden from the hidden camera. The flashback itself contains an act of multiple agents, and the curious interplay between the roles of the fairytale-actors and the real war-players (one of them a double agent) adds an "overtone to the game" since "it is she [Katje] who, at some indefinite future moment, must push the witch [Blicero] into the Oven intended for Gottfried. So the captain must allow for the real chance she's a British spy, or member of the Dutch underground" (112). Further imbedded is a flashback in Blicero/Weissmann's memory of the colonial Südwest and his 'parallel,' 'inverted' relationship with the red and brown

Enzian nick-named after Rilke's "gelben und blaun [sic] Enzian" (117) (see our discussion of colour negatives in section 2.6). After additional regressions, the narrative returns to the screening of the film strip featuring Katje in the original scene in the maisonette in London(132).

2.4 References to Texts as Differential Entities

Devices such as collections, inventories, taxonomies, and enumerations proliferate in both novels and are often confused with a sense of documentary accuracy. The phenomenon is well-known in its parodic form from Rabelaisian narratives and it functions first of all as an expression of playful verbal delight. Secondly, references to things that are similar at one level, but different at other levels, point to the nature of the things (or some aspect of that nature) rather than to their place in history. Collections basically exploit the differential aspects of the items and as such divorce them from the contexts in which they were found. Moreover, as any collector knows, a collection is in principle incomplete, and its imaginary completion becomes an object of obsession. Texts, with their delays, detours, and obstacles, have much the same effect upon a reader, as noted by Barthes in his discussion of the hermeneutic code,[29] but whereas the classical text usually brings about a closure, the postmodernist text will often challenge the notion of closure.

RA:

The roll-call, as carried out by Tiffauges at Kaltenborn, thus emphasizes the different sounds of names and undercuts the original function of noting the missing people (508). The various taxonomies likewise point to the structure of the systems rather than to the significance of the individual items. For example, Tournier's listing of military ranks and corresponding insignia and uniforms of the black corps (SS) from the private Sturmmann (one stripe) all the way up to the single Reichsführer, Heinrich Himmler (an oak leaf surrounded by an oak wreath) offers no insight into the historical significance of the ranking system, however historically accurate the references might be (376-77).

More seriously, Blättchen's anthropological and raciological tables and diagrams, although repugnant in the context of their historical use, are objects of fascination to Tiffauges, who delights in observing differences and variations. It is significant, however, that Tournier has footnoted some of the passages which describe the internal systems of the Kaltenborn institution (including the raciological centre) and quoted his sources (see his Notes, 584), as the references immediately separate the two codes, the self-referential and the historical, which had merged in the hyper-realistic narrative. Although the footnoted, historical references are still dangling at this stage, that is, they have not achieved the status of being historically significant, they function the same way as the names Göring and Hitler do (these names, like Rathenau and Hiroshima, do not need footnotes, as they would automatically signal the historical code).

GR:

Pynchon´s inventories and collections, beginning with the "bureaucratic smegma" and layers of numerous "things" on Lt. Tyrone Slothrop´s desk at ACHTUNG are always humorous. The pile is "usually" topped with a "News of the World," "unless it´s been pinched or thrown away." It is characteristic that Slothrop´s awareness of the world is through fragments of concrete objects, such as pencil shavings, paper clips, lost pieces of jigsaw puzzles, gummed paper stars in many colours (which he uses for his infamous map) that make up a postmodernist ´text´ of bricolage. The News of the World is just another object which might or might not be there, and in any case, the paper itself would not bring the reader ("Slothrop´s a faithful reader") any closer to the Reality behind the stories recounted (20-21).

Mrs. Quad´s "Disgusting English Candy Drill" similarly refers to the concreteness and artificiality of candies, however varied and ingenious they are in shape, colour and flavour. The great bowl contains the most absurd "ruddy gelatin objects" from prewar wine jellies to rhubarb cream, mayonnaise-flavoured Marmelade Surprises, etc. Among the morsels are "a series of patriotic candies," including "this nasty-looking brownish novelty, an exact quarter-scale replica of a Mills-type hand grenade, lever, pin and everything," "a .455 Webley cartridge of green and pink striped taffy, a six-ton earthquake bomb of some silverflecked blue gelatin, and a licorice bazooka" (136-38). Like photographs, newspapers, history books and novels even, the candies can only vaguely suggest another reality outside their own, even "the Mills bomb out to be luscious pepsin-flavoured nougat, chock-full of tangy candied cubeb berries, and a chewy camphor-gum center." Significantly, the only candy that Slothrop does not get to taste is the "Fire of Paradise" which "today is operationally extinct," the "famous confection of high price and protean taste." The precious candy eludes any definition, manifestation or reliable history, but is paradoxically the most candy-like of all candies.

2.5 References to Texts as Semiotic Entities

RA:

Metatextual references to signs, symbols, icons, indices, and to acts of coding, transmitting, receiving, decoding (semiotic acts) are present in both story-kernels and story-satellites. Tiffauges' primary vocation, whose progress makes up most of the kernels, is, like the ones traditionally ascribed to prophets, shamans, and magicians, to read signs, meaningful signs in his life that would annex his powers to those of the universe. Some substories are overt, semiotic acts, as for example private Tiffauges' short encounter with the signal squad that introduces him to the audio-visual ciphers of the Morse code. Although signs without the beating hearts of pigeons or children leave him cold, Tiffauges does learn that the notions of obscurity and misinterpretation are very important to the semiotic act (211-17).

Photographs, tape recordings, faces, and various configurations become reading material for the protagonist, while a number of stories, tales, and anecdotes feed his imagination and provide him with analogies of his own life. The process of reading is basically an act of gathering signs within a delimiting 'frame,' and if a 'frame' is not provided, the reader must invent it for himself, unlike St. John, whose vision was delivered to him from the Lord. The act of delimiting may also be called selection, which is the basic principle of history writing (even simple chronicles and annals are constructed from some selection process).[30] Once a sign-seeking path has been chosen, the occurrence of meaningful signs becomes more frequent--or the density of signs increases--as Tiffauges' case illustrates, and the potential for saturation or exhaustiveness also increases. The end of this process is the apocalyptic vision where every piece has fallen into its place, or at which point there is no more to be said.

References to all of these concepts pertaining to the semiotic process are abundant in both the first-person and third-person narratives in RA. The sleeping boys in the dormitory constitute "la condensation idéale" (93), Don Giovanni´s long list of conquests "exprime assez une volonté d´exhaustion que je ne connais que trop" (150), and "la saturation atmosphérique" of art and beauty in the Louvre intoxicates Tiffauges as does any form of closed world.

The process is also allegorized in descriptive passages (satellites), such as Tiffauges´ vision of Germany "comme une terre promise, comme le pays des essences pures":

> Il la voyait à travers les récits du fermier et telle que la circonscrivait le petit carreau de la fenêtre avec ses villages vernis comme des jouets, étiquetés d´enseignes totémiques, mis en page dans un paysage noir et blanc[...] et surtout avec cette faune emblématique[...] une faune héraldique dont la place était inscrite dans les armoiries de tous les Junker prussiens. (281-82, ellipses added).

Nature is generally referred to as a semiotic entity. Bird tracks in the snow make "délicate sténographie sur la grande page blanche ouverte" (278) and the German continent is a country "plus dure et plus rudimentaire,[...] le pays du dessin appuyé, simplifié, stylisé, facilement lu et retenu" (280, ellipsis added).

The last part of the semiotic process is of course the concept of interpretation or misinterpretation. Following Tiffauges´ example, we will postpone the discussion of this delicate matter till the end, after a brief section on the medium of the text.

GR:

The most consistent string of story-events belongs to the realm of intelligence, whose business is codes. In addition, card-readings and séances supply the text with examples of paranormal reading practices, and finally, narratorial asides and story-satellites offer a myriad of references to signs and codes in general. Some of the latter includes "Balkanosis," a condition inflicted upon post-WWI diplomats:

> spies with foreign hybrid names lurked in all the stations of the Ottoman rump, code messages in a dozen Slavic tongues were being tattooed on bare upper lips over which the operatives then grew mustaches, to be shaved off only by authorized crypto officers and skin then grafted over the messages by the Firm´s plastic surgeons...their lips were palimpsests of secret flesh, scarred and unnaturally white, by which they all knew each other.(18)

Scene eighteen is a medley of historical references (the bombing of Lübeck), psychic communication, Tarot interpretations, and intra-textual symbols and motifs that combine historical allusions with self-referential parody. The medium from the Psi Section of "The White Visitation" is Carroll (allusion to Lewis Carroll) Eventyr (meaning ´fairy tale´ in Danish) who makes a weak ´connection´ with the late Captain St. Blaise, in alias Basher, and his wingman (codename: Freakshow II) both of whom witnessed the "visitation" of a white Angel, "rising over Lübeck that Palm Sunday with the poison green domes underneath its feet, an obsessive crossflow of red tiles rushing up and down a thousand peaked roofs as the bombers banked and dived, the Baltic already lost in a poll of incendiary smoke behind" (176). Hitler's deployment of the V-weapons (Vergeltungswaffen) was a direct response "of a retaliatory nature" to the firebombing of Lübeck, and it was during the fourteen-day interval that "word of the Angel got around" (177). According to St. Blaise, in the original image of the Angel, "ice crystals swept hissing away from the back edges of wings perilously deep, opening as they were moved into new white abyss...For half a minute radio silence broke apart," but as the narrator notes, "damn it, this was not a cloud" (176-77).

While the myth of the Angel is revealed, the meaning or even the manifestation of the actual phenomenon remains obscure and open to many (mis)interpretations, mediated through several channels. As Peter Sachsa intimated (himself presently a spirit from the Other Side, but in the Weimar days an ESP-medium), "there were in fact many versions of the Angel which might apply," and as in the Tarots, "there are problems with levels, and with Judgment" (177). Later in the "Casino Hermann Goering" where Slothrop is under observation for his penile condition(ing), the narrator refers to the Angel of Lübeck as one of the watchmen "standing near the burnished edge of the world," "neither to destroy nor to protect, but to bear witness to a game of seduction" (250). The game is of course the RAF terror raid against civilian Lübeck ("the unmistakable long look that said hurry up and fuck me") "that brought the rockets hard out and screaming, which were to've been fired anyway, a bit sooner instead..." (250). As often in GR, sex is associated with violence and possession and tied together through self-referential motifs.

2.6 References to Texts as Media

A narrative text has two 'realities,' of which the more important is the transmitted message, the abstracted content. The 'message' can be transmitted through the story, the discourse or both at once. The other reality is its manifestation in concrete materials, paper, letters, ink, etc., and the tools with which the text is produced. The concrete media are not themselves messages, and reference in a text to their presence are naturally guaranteed to break the fictional illusion while enhancing the sense of the concrete world.

RA:

References to the substance and use of paper as a medium take a strange turn in Tournier's novel. Abel as a young boy is easily seduced by the power of stories, and while his first mentor Nestor acknowledges this power, he also teaches Abel a thing or two about how to reverse the roles of master and servant. By chance, as always, Abel one day has to take the place of the current "recitator" in the boarding school, and his duty consists in reciting the story of St. Christopher from Voragine's Légende dorée (68). It is of course only in retrospect, while writing his diary thirty years later, that the legend of the phoric giant becomes significant. At the time, the story simply makes an impact and lodges itself in Abel's memory for further signification. Some time later, on a Sunday morning, the Father Superior's sermon deals with the same subject of the patron saint of the school, but in addition the Father compares the legend with an anecdote about a Portuguese conquistador, an anecdote which, incidentally, is lifted from Montaigne's Essais (88). Combined with other intra-textual phoric motifs, the extra-textual legends are by now pregnant with signs which, however, have not yet revealed their true significance. The manuscript of the holy sermon written in the Father's own hand would normally be an object of reverence, but in Nestor's hands it becomes an object of desecration when it replaces the usual toilet paper during one of his nocturnal rituals on the throne assisted by Abel (94-97). Although paper is made of harmless materials, it can when transformed to a manuscript take on a reality of sacred or magic dimensions. Furthermore, in Nestor's cosmology the anus is equated with "Oméga," the end, a concept which Tiffauges later attributes to the horse, "L'Ange Anal" (353) and finally to the historical nightmare in Auschwitz, "l'Anus Mundi" (554). The stag, on the other hand, is by virtue of its antlers "l´Ange Phallophore," and the persecution of the latter by the horse in deer-hunting amounts to "la mise à mort d´Alpha par Oméga" (354). In addition to the religious and sacrilegious allusions to the Lord as the Alpha and Omega (Rev. 1:8), the reference to the beginning and the end clearly points to the self-consistency of a framed text.

In his adult years, Tiffauges recognizes the power of paper in the modern state´s administrative red tape, and he invents a fable that illustrates society´s dependence on documents and the idea that "l´âme humaine est en papier" (66). By extension, the soul of history is likewise made of paper, since history is inseparable from the written word.

GR:

The frequent mention of the colour-pairs yellow/blue and green/magenta refers directly to four of the complementary colours in colour negatives (yellow/blue is an important motif in Rilke´s Ninth Elegy, quoted by Pynchon--and Captain Blicero: "den gelben und blaun [sic] Enzian"[117]). Also, terms such as wideangle, shutter, shots, double exposure, Director, studio and extras are scattered throughout the novel.

Although the film medium provides the novel with much source material, the paper medium is not forgotten, and here as in RA, it has negative connotations. In a brief genealogy of the Slothrops, the narrator refers to the continuous interaction between the exploitation of nature and the circulation of money "through stock portfolios": "what stayed home in Berkshire went into timberland whose diminishing green reaches were converted acres at a clip into paper--toilet paper, banknote stock, newsprint--a medium or ground for shit, money, and the Word..., the three American truths, powering the American mobility" (31). "Living green" versus "dead white" is repeated in the anecdote relating the habit of the early rebel-Slothrops who marked their hats with "sprigs of hemlock so you could tell them from the Government soldiers. Federals stuck a tatter of white paper in theirs" (312). The transformation from living trees to dead pulp makes a profitable business, however, and as Tyrone reads in the retrieved dossier from Jamf ("his paper misfortune" [330]), his uncle Lyle Bland sat during the prewar years on the board of a certain paper mill named "Slothrop Paper Company," contracted to make a fake currency for the Weimar Republic (the so-called "Notgeld" and "Mefobills"). According to the dossier and to actual history books, the paper-plot thickened at a rapid rate during those days of illegal rearmament (in defiance of the Versailles Treaty), and Hjalmar Schacht (Hitler's financier) 'created' companies (e.g. Mefo or Metall-Forschungsgesellschaft AG) as "bookkeeping dodges" (331) and kept them alive with "promissory notes."[31] The cartel plot is a tangle, involving every possible profitable enterprise from coal and iron to "shipyards, steamship lines, hotels, restaurants, forests, pulp mills, newspapers" resulting in the infamous devaluation of the mark:

> Those were the days when you carried marks around in wheelbarrows to your daily shopping and used them for toilet paper, assuming you had anything to shit. (331)

In a purely symbolic shape, the tree provides yet another level of connotations from the Kabalist "Tree of Life." According to a Kabalist spokesman, one of several expert interpreters of the final launch, there is an obvious connection between the reversed countdown from ten to one--evidently "invented by Lang in 1929 for the Ufa film _Die Frau im Mond_" (878)--and the Sepiroth, which consists of ten spheres: "To return to God, the soul must negotiate each of the Sepiroth, from ten back to one" (878-79). The diachronic progression of the production, assembly, and countdown of the Rocket has with this latest transformation become a synchronic phenomenon that has to be understood in its entirety: "So although the Rocket countdown appears to be serial, it actually conceals the Tree of Life, which must be apprehended all at once, together, in parallel" (879). Finally, in Slothrop's mind long before the countdown, there is a possibility (as always in Pynchon's imagery, uncertainty is the key word) of the Hiroshima mushroom cloud appearing as a phallus of "perhaps, a Tree..." (809), clearly a tree of death.

The connection between Slothrop's implanted Imipolex G, the Weimar cartel-state, and rocket research is indeed farfetched, as explained in the dossier, but GR, like RA, is primarily a textual game of transformations and not one of linear cause and effect. Through its dual nature, paper--as concrete, nearly worthless matter (writing paper, toilet paper) and as an empowered symbolic medium (money, words)--makes all the impossible links in the structural chain fit in the larger design.

It should be mentioned that the importance of the medium is also explored in the séance sections, in which Carroll Eventyr and Peter Sachsa act as messengers of cryptic signs delivered from actual history (Walther Rathenau and the bombing of Lübeck).

2.7 The Sacrifice: References to the Act of Uniting Sign with Referent

RA:

In Tiffauges' life a terrible thing happens, one of the worst things that can happen to anyone: innocent fiction turns in to ugly reality. The dreamer wakes up only to learn that he has not slept at all. Generally speaking, the unification of the premonition with the actual event--whether the reading of signs forecasts good news or bad news--is always accompanied by a feeling of eeriness, as if the reader has trodden on forbidden territory. Eeriness becomes awe, however, when the reader realizes that a meaningful connection exists between terrible disasters and events shaped by his own consciousness. In RA, Tournier depicts the ´aweful´ phenomenon on two levels: first, in a story-telling mode that shows how it may happen to someone (mimetic mode), and second, in a meta-textual mode that shows the semiotic process of the phenomenon. As the latter demonstration takes priority over the former, some of the traditional humanistic themes, such as justice, guilt, compassion, disdain, and even pity have been omitted. Tournier admits to the coolness of his work (a coolness that turns to ice in Gilles et Jeanne) and compares it with one of Karlheinz Stockhausen´s electronic compositions, "Gesang der Jünglinge," in which the composer of atonal music exploits the sound of torture and disregards the triumphant outcome of the young Hebrews´ ordeal in Nebuchadnezzar´s furnace:

> Bien entendu le danger d´une construction aussi complexe, c´est le formalisme engendrant la froideur et l´indifférence. Il faut craindre l´évolution de certains romanciers dont les oeuvres comportent de plus en plus de forme et de moins en moins de matière.[32]

The sense of awe begins the day Tiffauges rescues the wreck of a child whose only mark of identification is a star of David on his sleeve. The period of "astrophorie" (552) begins, but still, signification does not take place until Éphraïm, the child from Auschwitz, tells his story, which corresponds to the events in Tiffauges´ structured world:

> Abreuvé d´horreur, Tiffauges voyait ainsi s´édifier impitoyablement, à travers les longues

> confessions d'Éphraïm, une Cité infernale qui répondait pierre par pierre à la Cité phorique dont il avait rêvé à Kaltenborn. (560)

"[L]a fin dernière des choses" (216), however, is still to come and must logically form the closure of the text. In the narrator's words, the end is a union of sign and flesh (216), and although signs in Tiffauges' life have found their counterparts in Éphraïm's tragic life, the phoric sign--with everything that the term encompasses, that is, the entire content of the novel plus the additional weight of the historical truths--must be unified with Tiffauges' body. The benevolent ogre carries the star-carrying child to freedom, but in the final inversion in the story and in the semiotic process--the enormous weight of the child and the star forces the ogre down in the soft, viscous earth. The only thing to remain is the six-pointed star "qui tournait lentement dans le ciel" (581). While the suspended symbol hovers in the sky, gravity will perform its necessary duty.

The symbol, in other words, has taken possession of Tiffauges as a reader and become a power in its own right. In this sense, the ogre's situation parallels that of the Third Reich, which since its origin "est le produit des symboles eux-mêmes qui mènent souverainement le jeu," according to the old Kommandant (476). "Personne n'a compris l'avertissement pourtant éloquent de l'inflation de 1923, cette nuée de billets de banque démonétisés, de symboles monétaires ne symbolisant plus rien qui s'abattit sur tout le pays avec la rage destructrice d´un nuage de sauterelles" (476), the prophetic gentleman continues. As in GR, the event of the 1923 inflation is inserted into the text, not to serve the historicist ´story´ of political causes and effects, but to underscore the relationship between signifier and signified (and in GR to point to the semiotic, synthetic process and its medium).

Adopting the hyper-rationalistic style of his creator, the Kommandant philosophizes on the essential, abstracted process of the diabolic inversion:

> Car il y a un moment effrayant où le signe n´accepte plus d´être porté par une créature, comme un étendard est porté par un soldat. Il acquiert son autonomie, il échappe à la chose symbolisée, et, ce qui est redoutable, il la prend lui-même en charge. Alors malheur à elle! Rappelez-vous la Passion de Jésus. De longues heures, Jésus a porté sa croix. Puis c´est sa croix qui l´a porté....Lorsque le symbole dévore la chose symbolisée, lorsque le crucifère devient crucifié, lorsqu´une inversion maligne bouleverse la phorie, la fin des temps est proche. (473, ellipsis added).

This interpretation of the Crucifixion is of course utter nonsense in a historical context, but it is a good demonstration of the way a structural analysis (or any ´reading´) can make a text comprehensible and self-consistent.

As a psychiatric case study, the life of Tiffauges is an example of an individual who retreats further and further from the real world of the signified, into the world of signs (fiction). As his diary shows, he actively seeks signs and focuses increasingly on making connections between them, and finally the activity gets the better of him. Madness is one of the drastic forms of ´possession´; moreover, the very act of writing, as Tiffauges notes, facilitates the semiotic process and is in itself an act of unifying symbol with matter and of re-enacting the Divine force of creation. From this perspective, Tiffauges´ end can be seen as a sacrifice or the re-enactment of the "undifferentiated unconscious state of primal being," to use Jung´s phrase from his study of sacrificial symbolism in the context of schizophrenia.[33] The ingestion of the sign-carrying pigeons in RA is thus an anticipation and a variation of the sacrificial act of the horses, the stags, the creature from the bog, and the senseless slaughter of the young boys at Kaltenborn, not to mention the tragedy of Auschwitz.

GR:

Inherent in the sacrificial act is the promise of rebirth or renewal through death or symbolic death. Similarly, initiation rites are enactments of submission and containment followed by liberation. Common to both rites is the concept of transcendence that in a Jungian sense concerns "man´s release from...any confining pattern of existence."[34] Some of the oldest symbols of transcendence are winged creatures (birds, angels), but as Jung´s associate Joseph L. Henderson points out in his essay on ancient myths, "today we could as well speak of jet planes and space rockets, for they are the physical embodiment of the same transcendent principle, freeing us at least temporarily from gravity...."[35] What fascinates Pynchon is not so much the temporary flight of fanciful freedom, but the literally indescribable moment of the journey's end--or in the would-be transcendentalist Pökler's words: "the penetralia of the moment, or the last mysteries" (496). While believing that Pynchon himself is a serious mystic, Rocket or otherwise, we do see a similarity between the finale of GR and "la fin dernière des choses" in RA. Both endings, as the sign is united with the material world, are self-conscious revelations of generated, 'mystical' insights.

In the scene where Blicero in a flashback recalls the African boy Enzian's words of ultimate blasphemy, using the Herero name of God as a term for buggering, the white man "feels the potency of every word: words are only an eyetwitch away from the things they stand for" (116). The eyetwitch is nearly removed in the last sacrifice which is fully enacted in the framed story as well as in the frame. By extension, the potency of the Rocket is also expressed on the meta-textual level where the text is confronted directly with the reader. The submissive Gottfried, shrouded in Imipolex G, is stuffed into the 00000 Rocket-oven by Blicero "who engineered all the symbolism" (876) for the occasion. Not only have all the transformations, variations, and possible readings of the Rocket come together in this last section to satisfy every Gnostic, Manichean, Nietzschean, or Jungian interpreter, but the ´harmless´ image in the diegesis (stories are harmless unless, of course, they are genuinely magic) becomes in a surprise narratorial ´trope´ a real descending Rocket in the frame-story.

If the moment of penetration--or trancendence--is possible, it is in Gottfried´s story at a point after Brennschluss where the blond boy presumably enters another order of existence. But the moment is forever suspended, as the framed story ends in an ellipsis and the frame-story closes with the view of the pointed tip of the Rocket as it falls and reaches "the last delta-t" (887). In spite of the suspension, Gravity´s Rainbow nevertheless concludes with an open invitation addressed to the ambiguous "you" to join in a non-existent refrain. If the sacrifice is only a metaphor, as are entropy and apocalypse, the text as well as IG Farben, Rathenau, Wernher von Braun, V-2 rockets, and the "...ROSHI...MB" (alias the death from the sky), belongs to the realm of historical facts that cannot be undone and that should not be forgotten regardless of the con/texts.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1] For photographs of Tournier with schoolchildren and with F. Mitterrand, see Serge Koster, Michel Tournier (Paris: Henri Veyrier, 1986), pp. 135, 137.

[2] Tony Tanner, Thomas Pynchon (London/New York: Methuen, 1982), p. 15; Matthew Winston, "Appendix: The Quest for Pynchon" in Mindful Pleasures: Essays on Thomas Pynchon, ed. George Levine and David Leverenz (Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown, 1976), pp. 251-63; and Jules Siegel, "Who is Thomas Pynchon, and Why Did He Take Off With My Wife?," Playboy 24, No. 3 (March, 1977), pp. 97, 122, 168-70, 172, 174.

[3] Thomas Pynchon, Gravity´s Rainbow (New York/Toronto: Bantam, 1980). All subsequent references to this edition of GR will be included parenthetically within the text.

[4] Unless otherwise indicated, ellipses, emphasis, square and round brackets in quotations from GR and RA are the authors´ own.

[5] See Mathew Winston.

[6] Roger Shattuck, "Locating Michel Tournier" in his The Innocent Eye: On Modern Literature and the Arts (New York: Washington Square Press, 1984), p. 262. Evidently Tournier´s tale "Le Nain rouge" was rejected by the German Playboy for being pornographic and "unhealthy"; see Herbert R. Lottman, "PW interviews Michel Tournier," Publishers´ Weekly, 226 (September 14, 1984), 150.

[7] "PW interviews M.T.," p. 150.

[8] Shattuck, p. 254.

[9] "PW interviews M.T.," p. 150.

[10] Shattuck, p. 259; and Michel Tournier, Le Vent Paraclet (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), pp. 193 ff.

[11] There are a few short essays on contemporary writers in Tournier´s Le Vol du vampire (Paris: Mercure de France, 1981), including "Principes d´italo-calvinisme," in which Tournier discusses the affinity between the Tarot cards and works by Calvino (e.g. Cosmicomics).

[12] Tournier´s letter is reprinted in full in Manfred Fischer´s Probleme internationaler Literaturrezeption: Michel Tourniers ´Le Roi des Aulnes´ im deutsch-französischen Kontext (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert

Grundmann, 1977, pp. 7-9.

[13] Richard Pearce, "Introduction" in *Critical Essays on Thomas Pynchon*, ed. Richard Pearce (Boston, Massachusetts: G.K. Hall, 1981), p. 8; and Brian McHale, "'You Used to Know What These Words Mean': Misreading *Gravity's Rainbow*," *Language and Style: An International Journal*, 18, 1 (1985), 93.

[14] Douglas Fowler, *A Reader's Guide to* Gravity's Rainbow (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1980), p. 66.

[15] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée sauvage* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1962), p. 27.

[16] *La Pensée*, p. 31 (emphasis mine).

[17] *La Pensée*, p. 49.

[18] The expression was used by Findley in a conversation with this student in November, 1984, where the author likened his "mythical" account of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor to a dish of curry that through simmering had been reduced to a thick, concentrated essence. Findley also pointed out that no one to his knowledge had ever noticed the "obvious" analogy between 'his' Wallace Simpson and Nancy Reagan.

[19] Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending*, p. 39.

[20] While Findley raises some important questions regarding the writing of and understanding of the course of history, his novel as a whole does not fit our definition of postmodernist literature, despite the playful devices, such as the fictional frame, the writing on the wall, and the detective mode (see Chart 1, Chapter III).

[21] *Le Vent Paraclet*, pp. 108-11.

[22] *Le Vent Paraclet*, pp. 192-203.

[23] Barthes, *S/Z*, pp. 33-35.

[24] Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (Five Talks for Radio by Claude Lévi-Strauss) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 21-24.

[25] *Le Vent Paraclet*, p. 184.

[26] John O. Stark, *Pynchon's Fictions: Thomas Pynchon and the Literature of Information* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980), 148-53.

[27] "PW interviews M. T.," p. 149.

[28] David Irving's *The Mare's Nest* and Basil Collier's *The Battle of the V-Weapons*; see Steven Weisenburger, "The End of History? Thomas Pynchon and the Uses of the Past" in *Critical Essays on Pynchon*, pp. 140-56.

[29] "Le retard" in *S/Z*, pp. 81-83.

[30] See Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical Inquiry*, 7 (1980), 5-27.

[31] Fowler, p. 157.

[32] *Le Vent Paraclet*, pp. 123-27.

[33] C. G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation: An Analysis of the Prelude to a Case of Schizophrenia*, tr. R.F.C. Hull, Vol. V of *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, Bollingen Series (Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 417.

[34] Joseph L. Henderson, "Ancient Myths and Modern Man" in *Man and His Symbols*, ed. Carl G. Jung, M.-L. von Franz, et al., Laurel ed. (New York: Dell, 1983), p. 146.

[35] Henderson, p. 156.

CONCLUSION

A conclusion is the appropriate place to restate the argument of the thesis; to gather the various strands, orderly and stray, of the argumentation; and to point out observations that may have arisen unexpectedly from the study. It is also the place to evaluate the study as well as the subject matter from an angle wider than the one employed in close analysis. Finally, it may be the place to acknowledge conspicuous omissions. We will commence with the apologia, since the act of preterition, Pynchonian or otherwise, reflects considerably upon what has been said and done.

In our proposed typology of narrative modes, we have paid special attention to subdivisions dominated by historical references and have singled out three groups of works (chapter III, chart 1). Group A corresponds to the novels which adhere to the portrait analogy and which within Hegelian phenomenology consider history "in itself" (original mode) and "in and for itself" (reflective mode) according to Joseph W. Turner´s modal typology. Scott´s Waverley serves as a highly artistic example of the reflective mode. Group C includes narratives that are in, for, and about themselves--so-called self-referential narratives--to which Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity's Rainbow belong. Little has been said about the middle group B, although in terms of the epistemological aspects of history, the philosophical mode is both complex and intriguing.

Since our initial concern was to examine self-referential narratives that contain recognizably historical references, but that at the same time do not portray history in and for itself, we chose to compare and contrast the two contemporary texts with a classical text. The deductive theory, however, still stands, and it is only due to the limited space of the present work that analyses of narratives in the historically philosophical mode have been set aside.

During the course of the study, we have occasionally pointed towards the tip of an iceberg whose submerged part has provided our thesis with some tempting if hypothetical leads. The visible portion constitutes certain homologous relationships between linear, progressive narratives and the epistemology based on the Newtonian, mechanical worldview on the one hand, and between postmodernist, discontinuous literature and modern science on the other hand. The invisible part that has its basis in pure speculation is the seductive theory of a "new world" or a "new paradigm."[1] As discussed in chapter IV, a small group of literary theorists, philosophers, and scientists--that Tiffauges undoubtedly would have included in his "panthéon personnel" (RA 24)--have with convincing arguments (especially for the layman) shown meaningful correspondences between the "new" literature, modern linguistics and the principle of indeterminacy in modern physics, arguments that go far beyond the discipline of the present study. Other scholars have investigated the relationship between new physics--as opposed to the Cartesian/Newtonian model--and Eastern mysticism, the latter being compatible with Jungian synchronicity, Teilhard de Chardin's notion of the unity of knowledge, and Leibnitz's theory of monadology.[2] The list goes on and extends to biology (morphogenetic fields) as suggested by Rupert Sheldrake and to chemistry (the Gaia Hypothesis) according to James Lovelock.[3] While it would be beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss these notions in any detail, the potential iceberg is nevertheless inseparable from Gravity's Rainbow, a book which touches on most of the above-mentioned fields of knowledge. In the process of learning our lessons about the holistic world view through Pynchon's private encyclopedia, however, we did begin to lose faith in the synthetic approach to explaining the universe, until the iceberg all but melted away.

The strength of Le Roi des Aulnes and Gravity's Rainbow lies not so much in a new sensibility as in the active demonstration of the nature of 'reading' and explaining a fictional universe that has its modest beginnings in the Word. Undoubtedly the homologies exist, but whether the connections are meaningful or not, we will leave to the magicians to determine.

During the course of the study we encountered many surprises, especially regarding the Romantic narratives. The novelists as theorists were very much aware of many

10

theoretical and technical problems that have remained unsolved to this day in ´portrait´-narratives. *Waverley*, of course, proved to be a narratologist´s dream, while at the same time a nearly perfect solution to the historical/fictional dilemma from a historicist point of view.

In the analyses of the two contemporary works, the emphasis has been placed on a description of self-referential devices instead of historical references. Likewise, the textual break-down of *Waverley* places narrative components first and historical references second. The methodology is intentional, part and parcel of the argument that gives priority to the narrative structure as an organizer of meaning. Had we as a first measure isolated all references of historical significance only to match them with suitable philosophies of history, we would have been unable to demonstrate the fundamental difference between the historical ´portrait´ and the ´vision.´

As for the uneasiness that some readers feel about the use or misuse of historical material in postmodernist fiction, it is in some cases justified. To trivialize serious matters might be appropiate for Wildean comedies of manners, but clearly unacceptable for fiction that deals with historical genocide or the dropping of nuclear bombs. However, this raises two questions. First, accusations of trivialization and misuse of historical data are not new phenomena, but shadows that have always been on the heels of historical fiction. Quasi-historical narratives flourished in Europe in epidemic proportions long before the Romantics invented the historical novel, and the latter genre was, and still is, exploited for sensational purposes. Furthermore, a truly dangerous misuse of history in some realistic literature is evident not only in the obvious misrepresentations of facts, but in the insidious falsifications of causes and effects. Propagandistic works, for instance, are often pleasing ´portraits´ that have little to do with historical truth.

The second question concerns the postmodernist motto "nothing matters, anything goes." Clearly, some self-referential texts matter, and some assert strong moral values. It is hard, for instance, to think of a contemporary work more indignant than Vonnegut´s novel, subtitled "The Children´s Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death" (Slaughterhouse Five), in spite of the novel´s playful elements.

Frederick Barthelme refers to the early American postmodernists of the 1960s and 70s as writers that tried to describe a "broken" world and that found irony as "the only way" to do so.[4] The pointed allusions to anarchy and nihilism in the motto, then, should be taken with a few grains of salt. One grain is for the anarchic experiments with formal narrative conventions, and another is for the nihilistic attitude of a world that repeatedly has practised genocide and presently is contemplating global suicide. The ludic element serves in fact an extremely useful function in the description of the "broken" world. In Ragtime, the hardly noticeable transformation of patriotic fireworks into patriotic firearms becomes deadly, as the fatalities of the Great War will testify. Likewise, the malign inversions in Le Roi des Aulnes become catastrophic for both the naive protagonist and the ´real´ world, as does Franz Pökler´s amateur rocketry in Gravity´s Rainbow.

While the early Romantic novelists struggled to defamiliarize the conventions of the eighteenth-century quasi-historical romance, Pynchon, Tournier, Doctorow, Vonnegut and others have in turn succeeded in defamiliarizing the conventions of the historical ´portrait.´ The terrifying and shocking ´visions´ created by Tournier and Pynchon are representative of the initial flames that set the postmodernist wildfire on its course. The smouldering epigones, however, have by now lost the shock value and the cosmo-comic, ironic effect produced by self-referential devices in the serious works.

Arnim´s pre-historicist experiment with Märchen-inspired ´magic´ in Die Kronenwächter (1817) was a clumsy but serious attempt to reconcile the ´vision´ of the poet with the reality of the past. The ´magic´ practised by some of the postmodernists, on the other hand, is a post-historicist vehicle for an ironic view of the "broken" world. Meanwhile, the historicist ´portrait´ of both the original and reflective modes is alive and well, becoming increasingly sophisticated as more historical facts are unearthed. Meta-historical texts of the philosophical mode might still prove to be the most fascinating category, including narratives that explore at once historical processes and the processes of knowing and writing history. That, however, will be the subject of another study.

Notes to Conclusion

[1] Richard Pearce, "Introduction" in Critical Essays on Thomas Pynchon; Capra, The Turning Point; and Wilber, Eye to Eye.

[2] See Thomas M. King, S.J., and James F. Salmon, S.J., ed. Teilhard and the Unity of Knowledge (New York/Ramsey: Paulist Press, 1983).

[3] Religion and the New Science ("Ideas," CBC).

[4] Frederick Barthelme, "On Being Wrong: Convicted Minimalist Spills Bean," New York Times Book Review, 3 April, 1988, p.25.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

The list of primary sources includes fictional works that are quoted or discussed in some detail. The original publication dates of single works are added in those cases where later editions are used.

Andersen, Hans Christian. Samlede eventyr og historier. Vol.I. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1982.

Apple, Max. The Propheteers. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

Arnim, Achim von. Die Kronenwächter. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1983. Orig. publ. 1817.

Balzac, Honoré de. Oeuvres complètes illustrées de Balzac. Paris: Furne, 1842, 1843; facsim. Paris: Les Bibliophiles de l'originale, 1965, vols. I and XIII.

Barthelme, Donald. Snow White. New York: Atheneum, 1967. Orig. publ. 1965.

Cooper, James Fenimore. Lionel Lincoln; or, The Leaguer of Boston. Ed. Donald A. and Lucy B. Ringe. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984. Orig. publ. 1825.

---. The Pilot. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1947. Orig. publ. 1823.

---. The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground. Ed. James H. Pickering. New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press, 1971. Orig. publ. 1821.

Döblin, Alfred. Berlin Alexanderplatz. Die Geschichte vom Franz Biberkopf. Olten/Freiburg, Breisgau: Walter Verlag, 1977. Orig. publ. 1929.

Doctorow, E.L. Ragtime. Toronto: Bantam, 1981. Orig. publ. 1974.

Dumas, Alexandre. Les Trois mousquetaires. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, n.d. Orig. publ. 1844.

Eco, Umberto. The Name of the Rose (Il nome della rosa). Tr. William Weaver. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983. Orig. publ. in Italian 1980.

Faulkner, William. Absalom, Absalom! New York: Random House, 1936.

Findley, Timothy. Famous Last Words. Markham, Ontario:

Penguin Books Canada, 1982. Orig. publ. 1981.

Fowles, John. *The French Lieutenant´s Woman*. New York: Signet books, New American Library, 1981. Orig. publ. 1969.

Fuentes, Carlos. *A Change of Skin* (*Cambio de piel*). Tr. Sam Hileman. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1978. Orig. publ. in Spanish 1967.

Kleist, Heinrich von. *Michael Kohlhaas: aus einer alten Chronik*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1965. Orig. publ. 1808-10.

Koestler, Arthur. *Darkness at Noon*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1984. Orig. publ. 1940.

Mann, Heinrich. *Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre*. Hamburg: Classen, 1959. Orig. publ. 1935.

Manzoni, Alessandro. *The Betrothed* (*I promessi sposi*). Tr. Archibald Colquhoun. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1951. Orig. publ. in Italian 1827, rev. 1840.

Márquez, Gabriel García. *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. (*Cien años de soledad*). Tr. Gregory Rabassa. New York: Avon books, 1971. Orig. publ. in Spanish 1967.

Mérimée, Prosper. *Chronique du règne de Charles IX*. Paris: Le Divan, 1928. Orig. publ. 1829 as *1572. Chronique du temps de Charles IX, par l´auteur du théâtre de Clara Gazul*.

Pushkin, Aleksandr S. *The Captain´s Daughter*. Tr. Natalie Duddington. London: J.M. Dent, 1928. Orig. publ. in Russian 1836.

Pynchon, Thomas. *The Crying of Lot 49*. New York: Bantam Books, 1972. Orig. publ. 1966.

---. *Gravity´s Rainbow*. Toronto: Bantam Books, 1980. Orig. publ. 1973.

---. *Slow Learner: Early Stories*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1984.

---. *V*. Toronto: Bantam Books, 1981. Orig. publ. 1963.

Robbe-Grillet, Alain. *Dans le labyrinthe*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1959.

Scott, Sir Walter. *Ivanhoe: A Romance*. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1886. Orig. publ. 1819.

---. *Peveril of the Peak*. London: J.M. Dent, Everyman's Library, 1907. Orig. publ. 1822.

---. *The Prefaces to the Waverley Novels*. Ed. Mark A. Weinstein. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978.

---. *Waverley*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1983. Orig. publ. 1814 as *Waverley; or 'tis Sixty Years Since*.

Thomas, D.M. *The White Hotel*. Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada, 1983. Orig. publ. 1981.

Tolstoy, Leo Nikolayevich. *War and Peace*. Tr. Rosemary Edmonds. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1983. Orig. publ. in Russian 1865-68.

Tournier, Michel. *Gilles et Jeanne*. Paris: Gallimard, 1983.

---. *Le Roi des Aulnes: roman*. Collection Folio 656. Paris: Gallimard, 1982. Orig. publ. 1970.

---. *Le Vent Paraclet: essai*. Paris: Gallimard, 1977.

Vigny, Alfred de. *Cinq-Mars*. Paris: Gallimard, 1980. Orig. publ. 1827.

Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr. *Slaughterhouse Five or the Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death*. New York: Dell Publ., 1982. Orig. publ. 1968.

Yourcenar, Marguerite. *L'Oeuvre au noir*. Paris: Gallimard, 1968.

Secondary Sources

1. Other Fiction and Films

Allen, Woody, dir. *Zelig*. With Woody Allen and Mia Farrow. Columbia, 1983.

Barth, John. *Lost in the Funhouse*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968.

---. *The Sot-Weed Factor*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1966. Orig. Publ. 1960.

Berger, John. *G.: A Novel*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.

Berger, Thomas. *Little Big Man*. New York: Dial Press, 1964.

Borges, Jorge Luis. *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*. Ed. Donald A. Yates, James E. Irby. Toronto: George J. McLeod, New Directions Books, 1964.

Byrne, David, dir. *True Stories*. With David Byrne. Columbia-Cannon-Warner, 1986.

Caldéron de la Barca, *Life is a Dream* (*La vida es sueño*). In *Six Spanish Plays*, vol. III of *The Classic Theatre*. Tr. Roy Campbell. Ed. Eric Bentley. Garden City, New York: 1959. Orig. publ. in Spanish ca. 1636.

Calvino, Italo. *Cosmicomics* (*Le cosmicomiche*). Tr. William Weaver. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968. Orig. publ. in Italian, 1965.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quixote*. The Ormsby tr., A Norton Critical ed. New York: Norton, 1981. Orig. publ. in Spanish 1605 and 1615.

Chateaubriand, F.A.R. *Les Martyrs*. Paris: Béziat, n.d. Orig. publ. 1809.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Last of the Mohicans*. New York: Lancer Books, 1968. Orig. publ. 1826.

Corneille, Pierre. *L'Illusion comique*. Ed. Robert Garapon. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1965. Orig. publ. 1636.

Cortázar, Julio. *Hopscotch* (*Rayuela*). Tr. Gregory Rabassa. New York: Avon Books, 1975. Orig. publ. in Spanish 1963.

Defoe, Daniel. *A Journal of the Plague Year*. Ed. Louis Landa. London: Oxford University Press, 1969. Orig. publ. 1722.

---. *Moll Flanders*. Ed. Edward Kelly. A Norton Critical ed. New York: Norton, 1973. Orig. publ. 1722.

---. *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress*. Ed. Jane Jack. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. Orig. publ. 1724.

Dickens, Charles. *Barnaby Rudge*. London: Dent, Everyman's Library, 1906. Orig. publ. 1841.

---. *David Copperfield*. London: Dent, Everyman's Library, 1907. Orig. publ. 1849-50.

---. *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*. New

York: The Modern Library, 1932. Orig. publ. 1836-37.

---. *A Tale of Two Cities*. London: MacMillan, 1962. Orig. publ. 1859.

Doctorow, E.L. *The Book of Daniel*. Toronto: Bantam, 1981. Orig. publ. 1971.

---. *Welcome to Hard Times*. New York: Bantam, 1980. Orig. publ. 1960.

Dos Passos, John. *U.S.A.* (Trilogy). New York: The Modern Library, 1937. Orig. publ. 1930, 1932, 1936.

Dumas, Alexandre. *Isabel de Bavière*. Vol. VIII of *Alexandre Dumas, Illustré*. Paris: A. Le Vasseur, 1905. Orig. publ. 1836.

Ellison, Ralph. *Invisible Man*. New York: Signet, New American Library, 1952. Orig. publ. 1947.

Feuchtwanger, Lion. *Jud Süss: Roman*. Forum Series. Amsterdam: Bermann-Fischer, 1939. Orig. publ. 1925.

Findley, Timothy. *The Wars*. Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada, 1983. Orig. publ. 1977.

Gogol, Nikolai. *Taras Bulba*. Ed. Andrew Gregorovich. Toronto: Acropolis Press, 1962. Orig. publ. in Russian 1835.

Grass, Günther. *Danziger Trilogie: Die Blechtrommel, Katz und Maus, Hundejahre*. Darmstadt: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1980. Orig. publ. 1959, 1961, 1963.

Graves, Robert. *I, Claudius*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1978. Orig. publ. 1934.

Hugo, Victor M. *Notre-Dame de Paris, 1482*. Intro. Marius-François Guyard. Paris: Garnier frères, 1961. Orig. publ. 1831.

---. *Quatre vingt-treize*. Intro. Jean Boudout. Paris: Garnier frères, 1963. Orig. publ. 1874.

---. *Les Travailleurs de la mer*. Vol. VII of *Oeuvres complètes de Victor Hugo*. Paris: Hetzel, n.d. Orig. publ. 1866.

Kosinski, Jerzy. *Being There*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970.

Mailer, Norman. *The Armies of the Night: History as a*

Novel, the Novel as History. New York: Signet Books, New American Library, 1968.

Martin du Gard, Roger. *Jean Barois*. Paris: Gallimard, 1960. Orig. publ. 1913.

Merejkowski, Dimitri. *The Forerunner*. Westminster: A. Constable, 1902. Orig. publ. in Russian 1900.

Mitchison, Naomi. *The Corn King and the Spring Queen*. London: J. Cape, 1964. Orig. publ. 1931.

Orwell, George. *Animal Farm*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946.

Pirandello, Luigi. *Each in His Own Way* (*Ciascuno a suo modo*). In *Naked Masks: Five Plays*. Ed. and tr. Eric Bentley. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1952. Orig. publ. in Italian 1924.

Rademakers, Fons, dir. *De Aanslag* (*The Assault*). With Derek de Linto. Cannon Classics, 1986.

Reade, Charles. *The Cloister and the Hearth; or, Maid, Wife, and Widow; a Matter-of-Fact Romance*. New York: Carleton, 1896. Orig. publ. 1861.

Remarque, Erich Maria. *Im Westen Nichts Neues*. Ed. Brian Murdoch. Methuen's Twentieth Century Texts. London: Methuen, 1984. Orig. publ. 1929.

Renault, Mary. *The King Must Die*. New York: Pantheon, 1958. Orig. publ. 1956.

Rilke, Rainer Maria. *Duineser Elegien*. Ed. E.L. Stahl. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965. Orig. publ. 1923.

---. *Die Sonette an Orpheus*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1940. Orig. publ. 1922.

Robbe-Grillet, Alain. *La Jalousie*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1957.

Romains, Jules. *Les Hommes de bonne volonté*. 4 vols. Paris: Flammarion, 1938. Orig. publ. 1932-1946.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. *La Nausée*. Paris: Gallimard, Le Livre de poche, 1969. Orig. publ. 1938.

Scott, Sir Walter. *The Fortunes of Nigel*. London: J.M. Dent, Everyman's Library, 1906. Orig. publ. 1822.

---. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1886. Orig. publ. 1818.

---. *Rob Roy*. London: J.M. Dent, Everyman´s Library, 1906. Orig. publ. 1817.

Scudéry, Madeleine de. *Artamène; ou le Grand Cyrus*. Paris: Argvstin Covrbe, 1649-53.

Sholokhov, Mikhail. *And Quiet Flows the Don*. Tr. Stephen Garry. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972. Orig. publ. in Russian 1928.

Styron, William. *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. New York: Random House, 1967.

Thackeray, William M. *The History of Henry Esmond, Esq*. New York: Macmillan, 1917. Orig. publ. 1852.

Thomas, D.M. *Ararat*. London: Sphere Books, Abacus, 1984. Orig. publ. 1983.

Tieck, Ludwig. *Der gestiefelte Kater/Puss-in-Boots*. Ed. and tr. Gerald Gillespie. Edinburgh Bilingual Library, 8. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974. Orig. publ. 1797.

Tolstoy, Leo Nikolayevich. *Anna Karenin*. Tr. Rosemary Edmonds. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1974. Orig. publ. in Russian 1874-76.

Tournier, Michel. *Des clefs et des serrures: Images et proses*. Paris: Le Chêne-Hachette, 1979.

---, and Jean-Max Toubeau. *Le Vagabond immobile*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984.

Undset, Sigrid. *Kristin Lavransdatter*. Copenhagen: Jespersen og Pios Forlag, 1952. Orig. publ. 1920-22.

Warren, Robert Penn. *All the King´s Men*. New York: Modern Library, 1953. Orig. publ. 1946.

Yourcenar, Marguerite. *Memoires d´Hadrien*. Paris: Gallimard, 1955.

2. Literary Theory and Criticism

Alter, Robert. *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Tr. Willard R. Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Barricelli, Gian Piero. Alessandro Manzoni. Twayne's World Author's Series, 411. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976.

Barth, John. "The Literature of Exhaustion." The Atlantic Monthly, Aug. 1967, pp. 29-34.

---. "The Literature of Replenishment: Postmodernist Fiction." The Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1980, pp. 65-71.

Barthelme, Frederick. "On Being Wrong: Convicted Minimalist Spills Bean." New York Times Book Review, 3 April, 1988, pp.1, 25-27.

Barthes, Roland. A Barthes Reader. Ed. Susan Sontag. New York: Hill & Wang, 1982.

---. Le Degré zéro de l'écriture. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1953.

---. "Le Discours de l'histoire." International Social Science Council. Social Science Information/Sur les sciences sociales, 6, No. 4 (1967), 65-75.

---. "L'Effet de réel." Communications, 11 (1968), 84-89.

---. Essais critiques. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964.

---. "Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits." Communication, 8 (1966), 1-27.

---. S/Z. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1970.

Baumgarten, Murray. "The Historical Novel: Some Postulates." Clio, 4 (1975), 2, 173-82.

Bougnoux, Daniel. "Des métaphores à la phorie: Michel Tournier." Critique, 28 (1972), 527-43.

Butterfield, Herbert. The Historical Novel: An Essay. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924.

Cam, Helen. Historical Novels. London: Historical Association, 1961.

Chatman, Seymour. Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Clavel, Marcel. Fenimore Cooper and His Critics: American, British and French Criticisms of the Novelist's Early Works. Aix-en-Provence: Universitaire de Provence, 1938.

Cluny, Claude Michel. "Michel Tournier de ´Vendredi´ au ´Roi des Aulnes.´" *Magazine littéraire*, No. 45 (October 1970), pp. 37-38.

Cooper, James Fenimore. [Review of the Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., by J.G. Lockhart]. *Knickerbocker Magazine*, 12 (Oct. 1838), 349-66.

Cooper, Peter L. *Signs and Symptoms: Thomas Pynchon and the Contemporary World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Cowart, David. *Thomas Pynchon: The Art of Allusion*. Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980.

Crane, Ronald S. *Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern*. Chicago: The Univeristy of Chicago Press, 1952.

Culler, Jonathan. *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.

Dolezel, Lubomir. "Kafka´s Fictional World." *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, II (1984), 61-83.

Duchêne, Anne. "Feeding the Heart on Freud." Rev. of *The White Hotel*, by D.M. Thomas. *Times Literary Supplement*, 16 January 1981, p.50.

Eco, Umberto. *Postscript to The Name of the Rose*. Tr. William Weaver. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984. Orig. publ. in Italian 1983.

Erlich, Victor. *Russian Formalism: History-Doctrine*. 3rd ed. The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1969.

Feuchtwanger, Lion. *The House of Desdemona; or the Laurels and Limitations of Historical Fiction*. Tr. Harold A. Basilius. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963. Orig. publ. in German 1961.

Fischer, Manfred S. *Probleme internationaler Literaturrezeption: Michel Tourniers ´Le Roi des Aulnes´ im deutsch-französischen Kontext*. Aachener Beiträge zur Komparatistik, Band 2. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1977.

Fleishman, Avrom. *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins Press, 1971.

Fokkema, Douwe W. Literary History, Modernism, and Postmodernism. The Harvard University Erasmus Lectures, Spring 1983. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ., 1984.

---, and Hans Bertens, ed. Approaching Postmodernism. Papers Presented at a Workshop on Postmodernism, 21-23 September 1984, University of Utrecht. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1986.

---, and Elrud Kunne-Ibsch. Theories of Literature in the Twentieth Century: Structuralism, Marxism, Aesthetics of Reception, Semiotics. London: C. Hurst & Co., 1979.

Foley, Barbara. "From USA to Ragtime: Notes on the Forms of Historical Consciousness in Modern Fiction." American Literature: A Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography, 50 (1979), 85-105.

Forster, E.M. Aspects of the Novel and Related Writings. Abinger ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1974.

Fowler, Douglas. A Reader´s Guide to Gravity´s Rainbow. Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis, 1980.

Frye, Northrop. Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Genette, Gérard. Figures III. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972.

---. Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method. Tr. Jane E. Lewin. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983. Orig. publ. in French 1972.

---. Palimpsestes. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1981.

---. Seuils. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987.

Gilliam, Harriet. "The Historical Novel: A Review and a Critique." Clio, 1 (1972), 2, 52-59.

Hassan, Ihab. The Dismemberment of Orpheus: Towards a Postmodern Literature. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

---. Paracriticism: Seven Speculations of the Times. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

---. The Right Promethean Fire: Imagination, Science, and Cultural Change. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980.

Henderson III, Harry B. Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Hite, Molly. Ideas of Order in the Novels of Thomas Pynchon. Colombus: Ohio State University Press, 1983.

Hollowell, John. Fact and Fiction: The New Journalism and the Nonfiction Novel. Chapell Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Hutcheon, Linda. Narcissistic Narrative: the Metaphysical Paradox. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980.

Kermode, Frank. The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

---. "Novel, History and Type." Novel, 1 (1968), 231-38.

---. The Sense of an Ending. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Ketterer, David. New Worlds for Old: the Apocalyptic Imagination, Science Fiction, and American Literature. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974.

Klinkowitz, Jerome. Literary Disruption: The Making of a Post-Contemporary American Fiction. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

Koster, Serge. Michel Tournier. Paris: Henri Veyrier, Artefact, 1986.

Lemon, Lee T., and Marion J. Reis, tr. Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.

Levine, George. "Darwin and the Evolution of Fiction." The New York Times Book Review, 5 Oct. 1986, pp. 1, 60-61.

---, and David Leverenz, ed. Mindful Pleasures: Essays on Thomas Pynchon. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1976.

Liddell, Robert. Robert Liddell on the Novel. Intro. Wayne C. Booth. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Lodge, David. Working With Structuralism: Essays and Reviews on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century

Literature. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

Lottman, Herbert R. "PW Interviews Michel Tournier." Publishers' Weekly, 226, 14 Sep. 1984, 149-50.

Lukács, Georg. The Historical Novel. Tr. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1981. First publ. in English 1962. Orig. pub. in German 1937.

McHale, Brian. "'You used to know what these words mean': Misreading Gravity's Rainbow." Language and Style: An International Journal, 18 (1985), 93-118.

Mackey, Douglas A. The Rainbow Quest of Thomas Pynchon. San Bernardino, California: Borgo Press, 1980.

Maigron, Louis. Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique: essai sur l'influence de Walter Scott. 2nd ed. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1912. Orig. publ. 1898.

Manzoni, Alessandro. On the Historical Novel (Del romanzo storico). Tr. and intro. Sandra Bermann. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. Orig. publ. in Italian 1850.

Matejka, Ladislav, and Krystyna Pomorska, ed. Readings in Russian Poetics. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971.

Matthews, William, and Ralph W. Rader. Autobiography, Biography, and the Novel. Papers read at a Clark Library Seminar, May 13, 1972. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1973.

Mendelson, Edward, ed. Pynchon: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978.

Metaxas, Eric. "That Post-modernism!" The Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1987, pp. 36-37.

Mill, John Stuart. Essays on Poetry. Ed. F. Parvin Sharpless. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976.

Nélod, Gilles. Panorama du roman historique. Paris/Bruxelles: Éditions Sodi, 1969.

Ozier, Lance W. "The Calculus of Transformation: More Mathematical Imagery in Gravity's Rainbow." Twentieth Century Literature, 21 (1975), 193-210.

Pearce, Richard, ed. Critical Essays on Thomas Pynchon. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1981.

Pierre, Michel. "Il était une fois." Magazine Littéraire, No. 164 (1980), 34-36.

Plater, William M. The Grim Phoenix: Reconstructing Thomas Pynchon. Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1978.

Prince, Gérald. "On Readers and Listeners in Narrative." Neophilologus, 55 (1971), 117-22.

Pynchon, Thomas. "Is It O.K. to Be a Luddite?" New York Times Book Review, 28 October, 1984, pp. 1, 40-41.

---. "A Journey into the Mind of Watts." New York Times Magazine, 12 June, 1966, pp. 34-35, 78, 80-82, 84.

Rimmon, Shlomith. "A Comprehensive Theory of Narrative: Genette's Figures III and the Structuralist Study of Fiction." PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature, 1 (1976), 33-62.

Rimmon-Kenan, Shlomith. Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics. London: Methuen, 1983.

Romanos, Christos S. Poetics of a Fictional Historian. American University Studies. Series III, Comparative Literature, 7. New York: Peter Lang, 1985.

Schabert, Ina, ed. Der historische Roman in England und Amerika. Erträge der Forschung, 156. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981.

Schaub, Thomas H. Pynchon: The Voice of Ambiguity. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.

Scholes, Robert. Fabulation and Metafiction. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979.

---, and Robert Kellogg. The Nature of Narrative. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

---, Structuralism in Literature: An Introduction. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

Shattuck, Roger. The Innocent Eye: On Modern Literature and the Arts. New York: Washington Square Press, 1984.

Shaw, Harry E. The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Shulenberger, Arvid. *Cooper´s Theory of Fiction: His Prefaces and their Relation to His Novels*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1955.

Siegel, Jules. "Who Is Thomas Pynchon...and Why Did He Take Off with My Wife?" *Playboy*, 24, No. 3 (March 1977), 97, 122, 168-70, 172, 174.

Siegel, Mark Richard. *Pynchon: Creative Paranoia in Gravity´s Rainbow*. Port Washington, N.Y. /London: Kennikat Press, National University Publications, 1978.

Silverman, Kaja. *The Subject of Semiotics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Slade, Joseph W. *Thomas Pynchon*. New York: Warner Paperback, 1974.

Smith, Maxwell A. *Prosper Mérimée*. Twayne´s World Authors Series, 249. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972.

Snow, C.P. *Public Affairs*. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Spiller, Robert E. *Fenimore Cooper: Critic of His Times*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963.

Stark, John O. *Pynchon´s Fictions: Thomas Pynchon and the Literature of Information*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980.

Stein, Richard L. "Historical Fiction and the Implied Reader: Scott and Iser." *Novel*, 14 (1981), 213-31.

Tanner, Tony. *Thomas Pynchon*. London/New York: Methuen, 1982.

Thiher, Allen. *Words in Reflection: Modern Language Theory and Postmodern Fiction*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Tournier, Michel. *Le Vol du vampire: Notes de lecture*. Paris: Mercure de France, 1981.

Trenner, Richard, ed. *E.L. Doctorow: Essays and Conversations*. Princeton, N.J.: Ontario Review Press, 1983.

Turner, Joseph W. "The Kinds of Historical Fiction: An Essay in Definition and Methodology." *Genre*, 12 (1979), 333-55.

Tymms, Ralph. *German Romantic Literature*. London:

Methuen, 1955.

Waugh, Patricia. Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction. London: Methuen, New Accents, 1984.

Weisstein, Ulrich. Comparative Literature and Literary Theory: Survey and Introduction. Tr. William Riggan. Bloomington/London: Indiana University Press, 1973. Orig. publ. in German 1968.

White, Hayden. "The Structure of Historical Narrative." Clio, 1, No. 3 (1972), 5-20.

---. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." Critical Inquiry, 7 (1980), 5-27.

Yovanovitch, V.M. La Guzla de Prosper Mérimée. Paris: Hachette, 1911.

Zavarzadeh, Mas´ud. The Mythopoeic Reality: The Postwar American Nonfiction Novel. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

3. Other Sources (Anthropology, Linguistics, History, Science, etc.)

Barker, John. The Superhistorians: Makers of Our Past. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982.

Barthes, Roland. Image--Music--Text. Tr. Stephen Heath. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.

Benoist, Jean-Marie. La Révolution structurale. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1975.

Bohm, David. Wholeness and the Implicate Order. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.

Capra, Fritjof. The Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels Between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism. London: Fontana Paperbacks, Flamingo ed., 1985. Orig. publ. 1975.

---. The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture. New York: Bantam, 1983.

Carr, Edward Hallett. What Is History? (The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January-March 1961). London: Macmillan, 1962.

Cecil, Robert. The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred

Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology. London: B.T. Batsford, 1972.

Chew, Geoffrey F. "´Bootstrap´: A Scientific Idea?," *Science*, 161, 23 Aug. 1968, 762-65.

Collier, Basil. *The Battle of the V-Weapons, 1944-45*. Morley: Elmfield Press, 1976.

Collingwood, R.G. *The Idea of History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Orig. publ. 1946.

Dornberger, Walter. *V-2*. Tr. James Cleugh and Geoffrey Halliday. New York: Viking, 1958.

Eagleton, Terry. "Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism." *New Left Review*, 152 (1985), 60-73.

Eco, Umberto. *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, Midland Book Ed., 1986.

Eliade, Mircea. *Birth and Rebirth: The Religious Meanings of Initiation in Human Culture*. Tr. Willard R. Trask. New York: Haper & Brothers, 1958.

---. *Myth and Reality*. Tr. Willard R. Trask. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

---. *The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History*. Tr. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. Orig. publ. in French 1949.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. Tr. by the author. New York: Pantheon Books, A Division of Random House, 1970. Orig. publ. in French 1966.

Gardiner, Patrick, ed. *Theories of History*. New York: The Free Press, 1969.

Greenlee, Douglas. *Peirce´s Concept of Sign*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1973.

Habermas, Jürgen. "Modernity versus Postmodernity." *New German Critique*, 22 (1981), 3-15.

Hegel, G.W.F. *The Phenomenology of Mind*. Tr. J.B. Baillie. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

---. *The Philosophy of History*. Tr. J. Sibree. New York: Dover Publications, 1956. Orig. publ. in German 1832-45 (posthumously).

Heidegger, Martin. Being and Time (Sein und Zeit). Tr. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson. New York: Harper and Row, 1962. Orig. publ. in German 1927.

Heisenberg, Werner. Physics and Philosophy: The Revolution in Modern Science. World Perspectives, 19. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

I Ching (Book of Changes). Tr. James Legge. New York: Bantam, 1980.

Irving, David. The Mare´s Nest. London: Kimber, 1964.

Jameson, Fredric. "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism." New Left Review, 146 (1984), 53-94.

Jung, Carl G. The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious. Vol. IX, part 1 of The Collected Works of C.G. Jung. Tr. R.F.C. Hull. 2nd ed. Bollingen Series. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

---, and W. Pauli. The Interpretation of Nature and the Psyche. Tr. R.F.C. Hull and Priscilla Silz. Bollingen Series. New York: Pantheon Books, 1955. Orig. publ. in German 1952.

---, and M.L. von Franz, et al., ed. Man and His Symbols. Laurel ed. New York: Dell, 1983.

---. Symbols of Transformation: An Analysis of the Prelude to a Case of Schizophrenia. Vol. V of The Collected Works of C.G. Jung. Tr. R.F.C. Hull. 2nd ed. Bollingen Series. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

---. Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle. Tr. R.F.C. Hull. Extracted from Vol. VIII of The Collected Works of C.G. Jung. Bollingen Series. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

King, Thomas M., S.J., and James F. Salmon, S.J., ed. Teilhard and the Unity of Knowledge. New York/Ramsey: Panlist Press, 1983.

Lane, Michael, ed. Introduction to Structuralism. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Lao Tzu. Tao Te Ching (Book of Tao). Tr. D.C. Lau. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. Myth and Meaning: Five Talks for Radio by Claude Lévi-Strauss. The 1977 Massey Lectures. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

---. La Pensée sauvage. Paris: Plon, 1962.

---. Le Totémisme aujourd'hui. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.

Lorimer, E.O. What Hitler Wants. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1939.

Lyotard, Jean-François. La Condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979.

Marsak, Leonard M., ed. The Nature of Historical Inquiry. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. "The Use and Abuse of History" in The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche, Vol. II, part II (Thoughts out of Season). Tr. Adrian Collins. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. Orig. publ. in German 1874.

Olsen, Jens Henrik. Historiens fortolkere: Grundris af europaeisk historietaenknings udvikling. Copenhagen: Gads filosofi-serie, 1979.

Ott, Frederick W. The Films of Fritz Lang. Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press, 1979.

Perry, Richard A. "Alex Colville." Canadian Forum, 64, No. 747 (March, 1985), 6-12.

Pettit, Philip. The Concept of Structuralism: A Critical Analysis. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975.

Piaget, Jean. Le Structuralisme. 8th ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983. Orig. publ. 1968.

Prigogine, Ilya, and Isabelle Stengers. Order Out of Chaos: Man's New Dialogue With Nature. Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala, 1984.

Progoff, Ira. Jung, Synchronicity, and Human Destiny: Noncausal Dimensions of Human Experience. New York: The Julian Press, 1973.

Religion and the New Science. Writ. David Cayley. CBC Transcripts. Ideas. 28 Oct., 4 Nov., and 11 Nov. 1985.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. Cours de linguistique générale. 3rd ed. Paris: Payot, 1955.

Schmithals, Walter. The Apocalyptic Movement:

Introduction and Interpretation. Tr. John E. Steely. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975.

Sheldrake, Rupert. *A New Science of Life*. London: Blond and Briggs, 1981.

Syberg, Karen, and Peter Wivel. "Fransk filosofi lever af den tyske kulturs sammenbrud." *Information* [Copenhagen]. Informations moderne tider, 20 Feb. 1987. p.3.

Ueberhorst, Horst. *Elite für die Diktatur: Die Nationalpolitischen Erziehungsanstalten 1933-1945. Ein Dokumentarbericht*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1969.

Vico, Giambattista. *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* (*Scienza nuova*). Tr. Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch. 3rd ed. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968. Orig. publ. in Italian 1725 (1st ed.), 1744 (3rd ed.)

Voltaire, F.M. Arouet de. *Mélanges III*. Vol. XXIV of *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*. Ed. Louis Moland. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Klaus Reprint, 1967.

Wilber, Ken. *Eye to Eye: The Quest for the New Paradigm*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1983.

Yen, Lü. *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life* (*T'ai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih*). Tr. Richard Wilhelm. Commentary by C.G. Jung. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1938.

APPENDIX

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL STATEMENTS ON THE HISTORICAL NOVEL

Category I: The Panoramic Method (critics will be discussed in chronological order)

1.1 A Minimal Definition (Helen Cam, Historical Novels, 1961)

> ...if we refuse to call a picture a good portrait when, though a fine work of art, it bears no resemblance to its subject, we are surely entitled to demand that a historical novel should be both good literature and good history.[1]

Helen Cam's very short but much quoted essay from 1961 treats historical novels as realistic portraits "which aim deliberately at re-creating the past."[2] Her definition has few restrictions, the appended bibliography of examples is very long (a selection of 231 novels from the period 1814-1950), and yet her conception of the genre lies well within the boundaries of the low and high mimetic modes (Frye's terms for fictions in which the hero is "superior neither to other men nor to his environment" or "superior in degree to other men but not to his natural environment").[3]

Cam recognizes the pitfalls of modernization, of applying modern "standards of conduct" and "psychological attitudes" to past eras, and of creating exotic, but not necessarily authentic worlds of the past.[4] The two basic criteria are thus 1) a striving for "good literature" that deals with human nature and 2) an allegiance to historical research:

> ...not only must [the historical novelist's]

> facts and his concrete details be consistent with those established by research; but the atmosphere of belief, the attitudes and assumptions of society that he conveys must be in accordance with what is known of the mental and emotional climate of the place and period. It is by the striking of a false note here that one distinguishes the writer who has "got up" his subject...from the one who has really soaked himself in it.[5]

In fact, Cam considers the historical novel as an ancillary to history, in so far as the two representations cover the same grounds, have the same aim, and are based on the same kind of research. As far as the research is concerned, it is understood that it must follow the tradition of the historicist discipline with the implication that the more details the researcher can compile, the closer s/he will be to knowing and understanding the total picture. If, in other words, a distorted, fanciful portrait results, it is due to superficial knowledge or to a disregard for facts, and not because historical research itself may contain the seeds for ambiguity and misinterpretation. The main difference between the task of the historian and that of the historical novelist is one of emphasis: the scholar tries to generalize, whereas the writer wishes to particularize and hence to emphasize human behaviour rather than institutions.

Besides the metaphorical portrait, Cam does not offer any concise definition. However, from her 231 selections and her evaluation system, we can generate a schema that will indicate this distinguished scholar's ideas of the origin, the development and criteria for historical novels of high quality.

Not surprisingly, Scott's Scottish novels are mentioned as "the earliest examples of...novels which create a living picture of a past world" (rated B+) followed shortly after by Charles Reade's The Cloister and the Hearth in 1861 (rated A).[6] Incidentally, as we will show below, Herbert Butterfield rates Reade's book as a "static" novel, one belonging to "the simplest kind of novel."[7]

In the essay there is no indication that Cam foresees the demise or even a possible decline of the genre. On the contrary, some novels that she rates as outstanding were published (in translation) only a year before her own statement appeared. The principle of thorough research would account for the infinitely rising curve, theoretically speaking, of good historical novels, rather than the rise-and-fall phenomenon described by, for example, Maigron and Lukács. With the increasing sophistication in research and the sheer quantity of accumulated historical facts, it makes sense that recent works at least in principle should make the best novels. Cam implies that the advent of historical interest and historicist ideas of the early nineteenth century thus triggered off the genesis of the new novel and its increasing popularity.

Moreover, there is not even the slightest reference to the troublesome works in the ironic mode, and one can only conclude that Cam's definition is meant to cover the broad range of realistic fiction with Scott as the prototype.

The question of whether the people or great men should act as history´s protagonists is not a great dilemma for Cam, whose twofold classification system is based on novels of background and novels of personalities. The two types of novels are equally valid, the former focusing on reconstructing past worlds (first class examples are Lion Feuchtwanger´s Jud Süss [1925], Sigrid Undset´s Kristin Lavransdatter [1930], Mary Renault´s The King Must Die [1956]) and the latter on historical personalities (Robert Graves´ two Claudius novels [1934], Marguerite Yourcenar´s Memoires d´Hadrien [1955]). However, as far as educational value is concerned, a factor that Cam pays much attention to, the novelists who "contribute the most to our understanding of history are those that re-create an age and a society and a world of past thought and feeling."[8] Cam shares this view with the novelist Marguerite Yourcenar, who tried both approaches, the first in Memoires d´Hadrien and the latter in L´Oeuvre au noir (1968):

> Dans le premier cas, le romancier, pour essayer de représenter dans toute son ampleur le personnage tel qu´il a été, n´étudiera jamais avec assez de minutie passionnée le dossier de son héros, tel que la tradition historique l´a constitué; dans le second cas, pour donner à son personnage fictif cette réalité spécifique, conditionée par le temps et le lieu, faute de quoi le "roman historique" n´est qu´un bal costumé réussi ou non, il n´a à son service que les faits et dates de la vie passée, c´est-à-dire l´Histoire.(Note de l´auteur, L´Oeuvre au noir)[9]

Cam´s first criterion of "good" literature follows the "great tradition" and the guidelines for good realistic literature. The historical picture should be "living" and not artificially constructed. For example, Scott´s Waverley, Heart of Midlothian, and Rob Roy are living portraits, whereas his medieval romances are not. The historical atmosphere should be re-created as it is by Naomi Mitchison in The Blood of the Martyrs and The Corn King and the Spring Queen. Characters should be "vividly conceived" like the people in Sigrid Undset´s Kristin Lavransdatter.[10]

All in all, Cam´s attempt to define the desired characteristics discloses no surprises, but reiterates the common sensical understanding of what most educated readers would expect from the genre. Moreover, the definition covers the same grounds as what is generally understood as history itself. Isaiah Berlin, in his essay "The Concept of Scientific History," makes the same argument, but in reverse order, that the discipline of history, in spite of its empiricist procedures and its so-called facts, has more in common with literary activities than with the natural sciences. The historian, like the fiction writer, must possess a vision of life, an understanding of the nebulous Wirkungszusammenhang, and a "perception of a social Gestalt,"[11] which are the necessary tools for comprehending, interpreting, and conveying reality as we generally conceive of it within our culture. Once more the metaphor of the portrait becomes useful:

> The immediate purpose of narrative

> historians...is to paint a portrait of a situation or a process, which, like all portraits, seeks to capture the unique pattern and peculiar characteristics of its particular subject; not to be an x-ray which eliminates all but what a great many subjects have in common.[12]

In Cam's definition of the historical novel, which parallels that of Berlin's understanding of "scientific" history, and which has roots in the Viconian version of historical methodology, there are in principle no generic difficulties as Mérimée, Cooper, and Manzoni saw them. The problem of assembling and interpreting historical facts, the problem of mixing poetic truth with historical truth, and Manzoni's concern that history perhaps does not contain the organizing principle of past reality after all, are not discussed. One can only conclude that Cam would consider these problems to be the result of "bad" (static, artificial) literature and/or "bad" (superficially researched) history.

1.2 A Broad Socio-Economic Approach (Gilles Nélod, Panorama du roman historique, 1969)

In 1969 Gilles Nélod, a devoted historical novelist himself, published a panoramic survey of the genre by periods and titles. Beginning with the sagas and epic cycles and ending with Maurice Clavel (1967), Nélod systematically deals with more than 375 novelists from Europe and the Americas. His definition is carefully worded to accommodate the classics (nineteenth century) as well as newer novels, but like Cam's minimal definition, it only covers realistic or representational fiction:

> Narration composée de réel et de vraisemblable, écrite en prose (en comprenant ce terme comme forme extérieure et non comme résultat que ladite forme suggère à l'esprit: il y a des proses poétiques), où l'auteur cherche à captiver le lecteur par la peinture des passions, des moeurs, ou par la singularité des aventures.[13]

Furthermore, the novelist must be sufficiently removed in time from the event he describes, lest the historical perspective should disappear and the account be coloured by the writer's memories or actual participation in the event: "Il n'y aura donc de passé historique qu'avant la naissance de l'auteur qui conte les événements." [14]

Nélod acknowledges and employs the socio-economic approach by Lukács, although he does not distinguish between so-called "correct" and "incorrect" literature. Like Louis Maigron at the turn of the century, he recognizes Chateaubriand as a genuine forerunner of Scott's revolutionary formula, whereas Lukács condemns Chateaubriand and "other pseudo-historians of reaction" for furnishing "a falsely idyllic picture...of the Middle Ages."[15]

To Nélod, the desired painting should not be just any rendering of an era's manners, but should follow the characteristics exhibited in a typical tableau by Scott. On the surface it should have local colour and precise historical details, and the characters should be "symboles généraux des différentes classes sociales." [16] "Le petit peuple" in particular should have a prominent place. At the deeper level ("au fond") the painting should also show "la couleur intérieure d´une époque," that is, the thoughts, feelings and actions of people as determined by the specific historical period.[17] Generally, Nélod adheres to Lukács´ analysis of Scott, as in the treatment of the middle-of-the road hero and the so-called "necessary anachronism" ("anachronisme obligatoire").[18]

The historical novel should first and foremost be an artistic and coherent "lie," Nélod claims, and it should be subjected to the particular style and rhetoric of a period and the changes caused by the specific socio-political climate. Whereas Cam discusses individual variations in the genre, Nélod observes four major types of historical fiction shaped by the eras in which they were written: 1)Romanticism (beginning with Scott); 2) Realism (beginning with Flaubert), and democratic humanism (Anatole France, L. Tolstoy) with its new conception of progress, as capitalism turns against the people; 3) interbellum literature, "la nouvelle objectivité" (*neue Sachlichkeit*), social humanism, and anti-fascist literature; 4) contemporary literature characteristic of "le temps de la recherche (1940-67)".

Nélod´s forecast for the historical novel is definitely optimistic, as he sees a steadily increasing readership of fiction dealing with life of the past: "l´homme d´aujourd´hui s´inquiète de son frère de jadis, de sa pensée, de ses gestes...." Instead of attributing the public interest in history to certain socio-political conditions, Nélod believes that historical curiosity is linked to a universal and, ironically, an ahistorical desire to experience "great things": "le passé, comme la mort et, à plus forte raison, la mort ressuscitée, inspire un sentiment de respect pour quelque chose de grand et de grandiose."[19]

The kind of fiction, for which Nélod predicts popular success, is the best-selling kind by writers like James Michener. While it is true that there will always be a great demand for the well-researched and entertaining historical novel, as there is for the high quality suspense novel (by John le Carré for example), Nélod has clearly ignored the branch of fiction which questions the fundamental issues of fictional and historical illusion. As members of the skeptical side, we may interject with the help of Frank Kermode that although we all share the human desire to know _what_ really happened and preferably _why_ it happened, history might be, like other texts, "a complex of semiotic systems which are either empty or are generated on the gratuitous assumption that a direct relation exists between a sign and a corresponding object 'in Reality'."[20] Clearly, Nélod as a defender of the traditional novel, adheres to the latter assumption and prefers "coherent lies."

1.3 A Progressive, Viconian Definition (Harry B. Henderson III, _Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction_, 1974).

Harry B. Henderson, in his study of the historical imagination in American literature, proposes no definition and sees little use in employing a normative approach to historical fiction. Without any prescription or latent preference as far as form goes, Henderson can allow himself to compare Cooper with Faulkner or Barth, a welcome attempt after many a restrictive definition designed for the tradition of nineteenth-century realistic portraits.

Like Nélod, Henderson observes that the historical novel is "set in the unexperienced past,"[21] and it is thus characterized by the creation of a "whole" imaginative world. However, certain novels dealing with contemporary history are included, since they have put emphasis on "history evolving through the present and shaping the future" (as for example Dos Passos' USA or Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man).[22] In spite of his open-ended definition, Henderson nevertheless focuses on the nineteenth century and singles out Faulkner as the only twentieth-century novelist who "brilliantly demonstrated a new depth and significance in historical imagination."[23] With this perspective in mind, we may assume that the study has invisible, or rather untold, boundaries set around the nineteenth-century tradition with Cooper in the centre, Faulkner on the periphery, and post-W.W.II fiction (Robert Penn Warren, Barth, and Pynchon) on various tangents to the original circle. The centripetal force keeping the various literary modes together in a coherent system contains two structures, in Henderson's view, that are peculiar to the American historical imagination, namely the holist frame and the progressive frame. The former, based on Vico's philosophy, is defined by "a relativistic view of time-bound man and by a belief that historical change is not measurable except in terms of the period under construction." The progressive frame refers to the concepts of the "eternally constant nature of man and the idea of history as consisting of measurable change on an absolute scale."[24]

While the frames are useful tools for introducing the subject of historical visions in analyses of individual works, they prove to be unstable concepts as fundamental principles for a comprehensive study in at least two respects. First of all, neither the holist nor the progressive frame is especially American nor peculiar to historical fiction. In order to understand the application of the two frames in literature at large, one needs only to refer to Berlin's comparison of a historian's historical portrait with a novelist's conception of a complete "world," to Henderson's own reference to the historical novel as an "inverted utopian novel,"[25] or indeed to any novel dealing with social/progressive change. Secondly, the frames do not in the final analysis illuminate the fundamental issues that distinguish the postmodernist works from the other works.

That Henderson is aware of the rotten apples, so to speak, in his otherwise respectable-looking basket full of various assortments, shows in his ambivalent treatment of post-W.W.II literature. At first he observes a shift from the holist/progressive frames to a sense of either "liberal conscience" or "apocalyptic parody,"[26] but in the analyses of the individual works, the original frames resurface. In spite of the parody, which is a distinguishing feature that should bring the works of Heller, Barth, and Pynchon to a another level of discussion, Henderson concludes that "through Pynchon and Barth the historical imagination has returned to its nineteenth-century roots, however modern the black humor guise of each."[27]

One of Henderson's great contributions to our understanding of the genre, however, is his identification of the renegade and mock-renegade figures that abound in Cooper and reappear in much subsequent historical fiction.[28] Not only is the renegade an actual social type in the shape of the vagabond, the traitor or the wanderer, but he also reaches mythical proportions in Cooper's Leatherstocking tales, in Faulkner's Absalom, Absalom! in the guise of the self-made man, or in Pynchon's V. as the schlemihl. There is clearly a parallel between the renegade figure and Scott's average hero as well, as discussed in the section dealing with Scott's characters and various aspects of the "elusive" hero (Chapter II, 3.13).

In short, whether set in the past or the historical present, the American historical novel, according to Henderson's Marxist-inspired program, is characterized by some or all of the following traits: 1) its illusion of a whole society, 2) its depiction of social change, 3) its demonstration of the process of social transformation, and 4) its fictional hero through whom the social and historical changes become visible.[29] Although there are examples of Great Men and other historical protagonists in American literature, Henderson believes that they create more problems than they solve when put centre stage. Tolstoy solved this problem more successfully than anyone else by giving the historical Napoleon and Kutuzov secondary roles, and the fictitious Pierre Bezuhov and Andrei Bolkonsky the primary roles in _War and Peace_. The trick, according to Henderson, is to create a balance between the progressive hero (often historical) and the holistically conceived characters (often fictitious). The former is "portrayed _within the progressive frame_," that is, "in terms of the deterministic historical laws," whereas the latter "may have intimations of the inexorable _reality_ of the historical process at certain points in their lives, [but] they can never comprehend and master it."[30] More than either Cam or Nélod, Henderson insists that the best historical novels are developed through a holistically conceived world of the past, but that they also at the same time are governed by the progressive frame that defines the elements of historical change and transformation.

Category 2: The Normative Approach

2.1 A Moral Approach (Louis Maigron, _Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique_, 1898, 2nd ed. 1912)

In some respects the task of the literary historian resembles that of the historian and by extension that of the historical novelist. The literary historian, in this case Louis Maigron, has identified a past phenomenon which he calls the historical novel and of which only documentation, the printed books, has remained. He then proceeds to trace logical patterns for the reason that the phenomenon occurred and disappeared and also in the ways that it changed during its rise and fall.

Maigron's study is interesting in several respects. First of all because it antedates Lukács' book by thirty-nine years and is thus one of the first theoretical discussions of the genre, albeit with a focus on the French. Although not a Marxist critic, Maigron sees a causal relationship between the literary phenomenon and certain socio-political conditions, and in his nearly idolatrous treatment of the great Scott, one almost hears, proleptically, the voice of Lukács. Strangely enough, Lukács never mentions this pioneer with whom he has so much in common. Secondly, Maigron, unlike most other critics, insists on identifiable stages of decline and early death of this promising genre, without resurrection but with Finally, he makes some acute observations on the relationship between, on the one hand the historical novel and the novel in general, and on the other hand the historical novel and historical narrative.

In a nutshell, Maigron's theory is that the new genre was a product of romanticism and that it only lasted for a decade. Rather than beginning with signs of historical themes or motifs in sagas and chronicles, as Nélod does, Maigron traces the realistic strain in literature. The novel in France, he claims, showed since l'Abbé Prévost strong signs of a new tendency towards realistic details and accounts. It was not until Chateaubriand at the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, that the realistic mode fully developed and turned the novel into "l'art pittoresque." Previously, writers had engaged in psychological studies of "l'homme" isolated from his circumstances and his milieu, but Chateaubriand changed that and began to write about "des hommes." The novel characterized by "la couleur locale" and "les personnages situés" had finally been born.[31] Still, one more condition was necessary before the historical novel proper could develop, namely the by now obvious, but at that time still controversial, understanding of the past as qualitatively different from the present:

> le passé est le passé et doit rester le passé...il fallait avoir le sentiment profond des différences profondes de l'humanité aux diverses étapes de son développement.[32]

Having paid his respects to Chateaubriand and Les Martyrs (1809), Maigron proceeds to nominate Scott as the father of the historical novel, which is also the natural offspring of "le courant réaliste."

Maigron's reasons for the ensuing popularity of the new genre are surprisingly practical. The increasing interest in historical research as a whole both among the public (the readers) and among writers is listed as the main cause. Because the new novel was launched with some strong, showy examples, such as Balzac's Les Chouans (1829), Vigny's Cinq-Mars, and Mérimée's Chronique--not to mention the translations of Scott's novels--it became possible for second- and third-rate novels to be published and even reviewed. The initial high profile of the genre, however, was short-lived, according to Maigron, and decadence set in with the appearance of Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris (1831) followed by the first signs of vulgarization in works by Eugène Sue and Frédéric Soulié among others. The final deathblow was delivered by Dumas (père) in the form of Isabel de Bavière (1835), a vulgarization of L'Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne (1824) by the statesman and historian Barante, who in turn had been almost exclusively influenced by Scott.[33] The circle of mutual, beneficial influence and imitation between history writing and the historical novel had thus been closed prematurely, and the torch of Scott's example was now to be carried triumphantly by the art of history writing alone.

Maigron's perception of Scott's formula does not vary much from what is generally understood as the historical novel. As his model, however, he chooses Ivanhoe which is usually considered a weaker novel by other critics, but evidently its anachronisms and its forced plot are of no significance to Maigron. What counts is "la résurrection du passé" and in addition,

> ce ne sont plus les sentiments des personnages ou leurs pensées propres qui nous intéressent, mais bien les sentiments et les pensées de la *collectivité* qu'ils *représentent* et qu'ils résument.[34]

As for the characters, Maigron forestalls the observation made later by Lukács:

> Ce sont moins des physionomies que des *types*, moins des individus que des *symboles*. C'était à cela que devait nécessairement aboutir le système, et *Ivanhoe* va nous donner le plaisir d'en achever la démonstration.[35]

Furthermore, Maigron, like Lukács, regards the phenomenon of the historical novel as being inseparable from that of the realistic novel. With "le cadre," "la couleur locale," "le pittoresque," "la description," "les personnages situées," the historical novel in fact constitutes the novel itself at its very best.[36] Maigron goes as far as giving credit to Scott and his invention for having emancipated the novel, for having freed it from the domain of the ladies, where it only served as a frivolous pastime. From being non-utilitarian and even dangerous(!), the novel, in the shape of the historical novel, now became a useful and serious vehicle for knowledge, as it later became the model for the greatest realist of them all, the author of *La Comédie humaine*.[37]

It must finally be mentioned that, although the new genre owed much to the general interest in history, the great French historians of the nineteenth century were in turn much inspired by Scott's approach. Barante for one discovered, according to Maigron, that history was more than a set of dates, and not only did he introduce "le pittoresque" into his writing, but also Scottian descriptions and the presence of "le peuple."[38] Augustin Thierry, who was directly influenced by Chateaubriand's Les Martyrs, became known for his historical narratives along with Jules Michelet[39], who, among other achievements, translated Vico's La scienza nuova into French (1827). We know that Lukács did not agree with this theory of narrow philological influence between historians and novelists, but attributed the similar approach in the two spheres of historical studies to the "common character of the reactions to reality."[40] While Lukács is undoubtedly correct in his observation, it is equally logical to point out not only that the cross-fertilization between the two spheres intensified the sense of a Zeitgeist of the 1820s and 1830s, but also that the translations and popularization of foreign works (e.g. Scott and Vico) may have contributed a great deal in concrete terms to create this very Zeitgeist.

This current of alternating influence in the creation of a Zeitgeist or an intellectual movement may sound like the-chicken-and-the-egg riddle, but it seems that in the development of historical fiction, the different modes (e.g. the realistic and the postmodernist) owe as much to various influences that can be measured quantitatively as they do to a common way of perceiving reality. A case in point may be the influence of Gabriel García Márquez' Cien años de soledad, with its numerous and simultaneous translations, upon the movement of postmodernism.

2.2 A Historicist/Poetic Norm (Herbert Butterfield, The Historical Novel: An Essay, 1924)

> Just as a prism catches the light and turns it into colours [Scott] stands between the historical generalisation and his readers and he breaks up the general into the particular and projects it as a picture. The result is like the condensing of a cloud into raindrops. Fiction is like the dust which creates a sunbeam and helps the sunlight to show that it is there. And in this way Scott does something for history that the historian by himself cannot do, or can seldom do; he recaptures the life of an age, and resurrects a picture of the past.[41]

The distinguished Cambridge scholar and historian Sir Herbert Butterfield sees no difficulties in combining historical truth with poetic inventions. In his opinion, history is a "chart" to the past and the historical novel a "picture,"[42] and together they make up a complementary pair. In fact, he regards the historical novel as a form of history[43] and shares with Cam, Nélod and Maigron the view that the two types of historical rendition are motivated by a romantic impulse to know about the past.

The transition from history to story is one that intrigues Butterfield. In order to fulfill the demands of "Romanticism in all of us," that is, "the love of the past for its own sake..., and the regret for the things that are lost for ever,"[44] history "must be at once a *picture* and *story*."[45] The discipline of history can hardly ever meet these demands, for obvious reasons, whereas historical fiction *can* do so. To Butterfield the first criteria are thus that the mind of the novelist be "steeped in the past," and that his fiction be "historical in its intention."[46] After having done his homework, so to speak, the novelist must then apply the story-teller's skill in order to transform the "charts" and facts into lively stories, in which the general becomes the particular. The formula and forces described by the historian, Butterfield continues, are being dramatized by the novelist who relates them to the "whole life of the time." Butterfield, like Scott, then, does not feel that history during its metamorphosis into fiction is being "stretched, or varnished, or distorted," but that it simply presents historical material in a different way.[47] In this sense his understanding ~~of~~ both history and fiction corresponds to the portrait analogy, in which the connoted messages transmitted by language and plot and their respective structures are believed not to change the denoted message in any fundamental way.

While Scott is the norm, Butterfield believes that the historical novel manifests itself in various ways that are more or less acceptable. In this respect he differs from both Maigron and later Lukács who see a definite degeneration of the genre over time. In a sense one could argue that Butterfield's study is a survey of kinds and that it therefore should be discussed under category I. But the fact that he implies a hierarchy in regard to complexity and believes some types to be superior and truer to the genre than others has led us to place him in the category dealing with normative approaches.

The simplest type of historical novel is thus either the travel tale or the picaresque novel set in the past. They are characterized by the description of a static society and the dominance of a single character around whom the unity of the novel is created. Examples are Reade's _The Cloister and the Hearth_ and Dickens' _Pickwick Papers_ and _David Copperfield_. As mentioned earlier, Cam thought highly of Reade's novel, due to the living 'picture' it presented, but evidently Butterfield sees the lack of a living 'story' as a serious shortcoming.[48]

The second type constitutes the dynamic tale, in which unity is found in historical texture rather than in character. Lives are fictitious, but currents and movements are true to history, although no documentary events are depicted. Examples are Dickens' _Barnaby Rudge_ and _A Tale of Two Cities_.[49]

The novel of historical incident is the third type in which not only the texture, but also certain incidents or entire themes, are taken from history. No titles are given, but themes like the Gunpowder Plot or the Jacobite uprisings are mentioned.[50]

The fourth type is the episodic novel in which unity is sought in episodes or historical sketches. Typically this kind of novel will take its subject matter from eras with intense historical actions that "ask to be turned into story." Some interesting examples are the novels by the Hungarian Jókai (1825-1904), whose books were read in England at this time, and *The Forerunner* by the Russian Merezkowskij (1865-1941).[51] It might be mentioned that Lukács considered the latter novelist "a typical decadent of the imperialist age who belongs with the drunken philistines" due to the combination of naturalistic features and mystical themes in his works.[52]

The novel of an unfolding process is to Butterfield the high point of the genre. Like the novel of historical incident, it centres around a theme, while it also embraces historical characters and events. Interestingly enough, the Cambridge historian chooses Dumas as the outstanding practitioner of this type, the same Dumas whom Maigron and Luckács scorn as a vulgarizer and whose work many educated readers consider sensational and of little literary merit. It is true, however, that Alexandre Dumas, who produced more than three hundred volumes of fiction with the help of a number of ghost writers (reportedly seven)[53] was among the most widely read of the romantics in France.[54] Butterfield justifies his choice by pointing out the French romantic's story-telling ability which brings out the hidden narrative in history itself. More directly than do any of the historical novelists themselves, the English historian suggests that history "may be regarded as a thread of narrative, a stream of story, winding through time."[55] In his introductory pages, he explains the relationship between actual History and the stories and pictures we conjure up of the past:

> Whatever connection the historical novel may have with the history that men write and build up out of their conscious studies, or with History, the past as it really happened, the thing that is the object of study and research, it certainly has something to do with that world, that mental picture which each of us makes of the past...[56]

History as a story book is of course a traditional metaphor, but Butterfield's admission that the comparison has possibly more to do with the human mind and with the imagination than with "the past as it really happened" is a challenging idea.

As a related type, Butterfield finally mentions the prose epic or the Epic of Man. It deals with the concrete world, as all historical fiction does, but beyond that it is cosmic in conception, suggesting a universal living principle behind all individual concerns. Examples are Victor Hugo's Les Travailleurs de la mer and Quatre-vingt-treize.[57]

In conclusion, Butterfield's definition is not hampered by the restrictions of historical materialism, neither is it demanding in regard to literary standards. Moreover, while adhering to the basic premise of historicism, that the past is unique and therefore different from the present, he at the same time maintains that "essential experience" ultimately remains the same.[58] His main criteria are thus that the novelist should 1) remain true to historical charts, 2) conceive of a whole life of the past, and 3) particularize historical forces and express the human experience by means of story-telling.

2.3 The Marxist Definition (Georg Lukács, _The Historical Novel_,1937, tr. 1962)

The cornerstone of all criticism dealing with the historical novel is Lukács' study composed in 1936-37, but not brought to the anglophone community until 1962. As we know, the monograph was not the first of its kind, but it was and still is the most comprehensive work about the nature of the historical novel, its beginnings and its development, albeit from an uncompromisingly Marxist point of view.

The Historical Novel has two aims, as the author points out in the preface to the English translation. First, to "clarify the main lines of historical development," and second, to "examine the interaction between economic and social development and the outlook and artistic form to which they give rise."[59] In our review we will deal with the first of these two aspects, but in order to synthesize the wealth of material and to facilitate comparisons with other critical statements, we will begin with a quick overview of historical materialism or dialectical materialism (while the latter term refers to the general methodology of Marxist analysis, the former term is usually applied to the disciplines of history and sociology) from which Lukács' understanding of both history and literature cannot be separated. Furthermore, we will deal specifically with Lukács' definition of the "classical form" of the historical novel.

In nuce, historical materialism is a philosophical theory based on man's material conditions which change, not according to the will of a few great men or to the arbitrary movement of Fortuna's wheel, but rather according to a dialectic of contradictions in society. Thus social change is perceived of as a process in which opposite forces struggle and eventually resolve themselves at a higher level on the progressive ladder. The material forces are economic in origin, and not only the political and social spheres, but all the human activities constituting the superstructure (e.g. education and the arts) are determined by these forces. Consequently, history is understood as the history of the class struggle and literature is defined as the artistic manifestation of the various facets of the struggle. Due to the different stages of the ongoing struggle, literature and art may vary from being very decadent to highly progressive, the latter term not just referring to the exemplary kind in which society, and by extension reality, is portrayed in its highest state of socialism, but also to the kind that correctly exposes, often inadvertently, the existing contradictions of society.

The historical novel has thus everything to do with the way Marxist historicism is perceived, and consequently it has a very specific place in the history of bourgeois literature.

A few elementary terms, namely 'progress,' 'necessary anachronism' and 'objectivity,' will need further clarification at this point in order to understand Lukács' version of the development of the historical novel, his rejection of naturalism and his insistence on typicality.

First of all, history is a process and "the concrete precondition of the present,"[60] a concept not exclusive to Marxist historicism but to historicism in general. However, in a Marxist framework the historical process is teleological in character and therefore described not only in terms of the present but of what will necessarily be in the future. Hence "necessary anachronism,"[61] a phenomenon which originated with Hegel's philosophy, is to Lukács a practical device and an inevitable component of the artistic representation of history. For example, because Scott instinctively understood the course of history ("even with a false consciousness" and "despite his own political and social view"[62]), he would allow "his characters to express feelings and thoughts about real, historical relationships in a much clearer way than the actual men and women of the time could have done."[63] Our portrait metaphor, in other words, needs some particular adjustments to suit the Marxist theory.

The desirable likeness in the historical portrait must be objective, that is, not photographically objective as in naturalistic representations, but objective in the sense of showing the "particular trends which have objectively led to the present."[64] The preconditions for objective portrayal are therefore not necessarily authentic representation of details and so-called local colour, but rather the identification of men's material conditions that lead to societal contradictions which in turn produce social change.

While Lukács agrees with Maigron and virtually all other critics of the genre that Madeleine de Scudéry and Gauthier de Calpranède of the seventeenth century depicted history as a mere masquerade, he disagrees with the earlier French critic in regard to the genesis of the historical novel. Since Lukács is looking for the ideologically correct portrayals of historical epochs and events, it follows that he must necessarily reject the romantic idealism of Chateaubriand and commend the efforts, if still imperfect, made by the great novelists of the Enlightenment (Fielding, Smollett, Defoe), by the dramatists Goethe (Egmont, Götz von Berlichingen) and Schiller (Wallenstein), and last but not least, the Renaissance dramatists headed by Shakespeare. The alleged link between the dramatists and the novelists is not one of direct influence, however. Following Aristotle's genre theory, Lukács observes the fundamental differences between the two genres, and the relationship between Shakespeare and Scott should thus only be understood within the broadest definition of the historicist view of history.

Drama can do without the detailed concreteness of a milieu and still not rule out the historicist element, whereas the novel must contain a complete world of historical references. Still, both genres can demonstrate colliding social or historical forces if the characteristic factors of the epoch have been organically assimilated into either the characters or the story or both.[65]

By the same token, the continuation of the ´historicist´ novel is not to be found in naturalistic and later documentary trends, but in the nineteenth-century realistic novel culminating in the twentieth-century humanist novel of either historical or contemporary subject matter (see chart 2 at the end of the Appendix). As far as the future of the historical novel is concerned, Lukács´ predictions are optimistic (as of 1937, with the Bolshevik revolution behind him and the hoped-for Spanish revolution ahead of him) and inevitably tied in with his belief in a future socialist democracy. However, for the historical novel to be revived, it is necessary that the classical heritage à la Scott be re-assumed in regard to "its popular, democratic...and concretely historical spirit" and "its high artistic concreteness of form."[66] Furthermore, since times have changed, the modern version must of necessity reflect a different content. With a traditional, bombastic Marxist metaphor, Lukács compares the older novel with the new:

> The classical historical novel portrays the sunset of the heroic-revolutionary development of bourgeois democracy. Today´s historical novel has

> arisen and is developing amid the dawn of a new democracy.[67]

En route Lukács mentions the related types of humanist works of the interbellum period, that is to say the anti-fascist novel and the more problematic novel of the eccentric hero. Although taking a progressive stance in face of the decadence of modern society in general and fascist corruption in particular, novelists like Heinrich Mann and Alfred Döblin fail in their attempts by being too abstract and too intellectual. According to Lukács, Döblin's everyman in Berlin Alexanderplatz, the worker Biberkopf, is an eccentric who's unrepresentative of the German post-war working class, while Mann's and Feuchtwanger's protagonists possess the humanist ideals of their creators in a manner that is too compressed and direct.[68] Using Henderson's terminology, we may characterize Mann's historical protagonist (e.g. Henry IV in Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre (1935)) as both the progressive hero through whom the historical changes are reflected and a holistic character responding emotionally and intellectually to the world in which he is situated. To press the two aspects into a single character is in Lukács' mind to overload the character and to remove him from the "immediate historical experience."[69]

Turning now to Scott and his formula, Lukács points out that the famed novelist is by no means a romantic. The romantic view of history is a reactionary and "apologetic glorification" of the past, especially the Middle Ages, and it is most visible in pre-Scott literature by the German romantics Wackenroder, Novalis, Tieck and Arnim.[70] That the romantic era wore many faces, especially in regard to history, is quite clear to modern scholars, but for our own clarification it suffices to mention here two distinct outlooks. On the one hand, the nineteenth century was marked by an interest in history as a publicly shared concept, but on the other hand there was an equally strong interest in personal time, private memory and mysticism. The ambivalent feeling the critic often has to romantic historical fiction arises, it seems, when the two outlooks are combined, as they are in Arnim´s Die Kronenwächter. For Lukács, however, the case of reactionary romanticism is clear cut and easily dismissed.

The components making Scott´s novels the stars of their class are thus the results of the novelist´s sense of realism, historical process, and typicality of character. As already noted, Scott´s realism is associated with what Lukács identifies as objectivity. What appears to be a formal construction to structuralists and formalists is to the Marxist critic an actual mirroring of reality. There is, in other words, a one-to-one correspondence between the realistic representation, historical reality and objective reality, of which the latter two concepts are knowable by means of historical materialism "despite the influential modern ´cognitive theories´ of history."[71]

The historical process is best portrayed through "outwardly insignificant events" rather than through the retelling of great events, since the aim is to represent men's "social and human motives of behaviour" in specific historical periods.[72]

Finally, in regard to characters, Lukács distinguishes between the "middle-of-the-road" heroes and the "world-historical individuals." The former are best suited to serve as centre-pieces of the historical portraits, since

> [t]he relative lack of contour to their personalities, the absence of passions which would cause them to take up major, decisive, one-sided positions, their contact with each of the contending hostile camps, etc., make them specially suited to express adequately, in their own destinies, the complex ramification of events in a novel.[73]

Moreover, the typicality of the hero is associated with his popular dimensions. Although Scott's heroes are often from the upper classes, they nevertheless reflect the destiny of the entire people and the socio-political conflicts of the epoch. The "world-historical individual" is a term borrowed from Hegel who defines it as a great individual, e.g. Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar or Napoleon, "inseparable from the cause he promoted" and as a person who realizes what is necessary in order to reach the higher concept of spirit or Idea which guides world history.[74] Lukács adopted the concept for his Marxist theory of literature, but instead of attributing the guiding principle to the ultimate Idea, he points to men's material conditions. In contrast to the "middle-of-the-road" hero, the "world-historical individual" must hold a minor position in the historical novel, as he correctly does in the novels by Scott, Cooper, Pushkin and Tolstoy, to name a few. These individuals are "conscious bearers of historical progress" and give direction to "movements already present in society."[75] The fictitious Vich Ian Vohr in Waverley is one case in point, but many historical personalities serve the same end, as for example Kutuzov in War and Peace.

In general, historical characters should play minor roles to avoid hero-worship (as in Vigny's Cinq-Mars) as well as the heavy ballast caused by factual details, which, once they have become common knowledge, should neither be ignored nor falsified. As noted earlier, Cooper also saw the dead weight of historical characters as the main difficulty with the genre and the direct cause of awkward and implausible stories. By leaving the historical characters out altogether, as Cooper did in his romances, or by giving them minor positions, the novelists are left free to create dynamic plots.

2.4 The Critical, Academic Criterion (Lion Feuchtwanger, The House of Desdemona, 1958, tr. 1963)

The title of Feuchtwanger's unfinished manuscript on the historical novel refers to a little known historical fact, namely the genesis of a certain "Casa di Desdemona" which never existed, but which nevertheless became an established "fact" in popular history. The anecdote illustrates two things which few other critics have theorized upon. First, it shows the relationship between popular and scientific history, the stubborn persistence of the former over the latter, and the similarities between popular history and the historical novel (or play) in their capacities as mythmakers. Second, it demonstrates the interplay between historical representation in art and the making of history, a phenomenon which is of special interest in relation to postmodernist literature. In fact, the tale reads like an outline for a postmodernist story:

> The best-known episode from the history of the Venetian hegemony on the Isle of Cyprus is of the jealous murder of Desdemona by Othello the Moor, who is governor of the island. The historical fact is that a certain Cristoforo Moro, Governor of Cyprus, returned to Venice in the year 1508 following the death of his wife. This Cristoforo Moro was by no means a Moor but rather a member of the Moro family. The name of this family derives from Morea, the conventional designation for the Peloponnesus, where the family originated. The family coat of arms shows three mulberries, that is _mori_. All other strands of the story about Othello the Moor derive from a novella by Giovanni Giraldi (Cintio) entitled _Il Moro di Venezia_. Shakespeare took his materials from this novella. After Shakespeare's play became famous, people of Venice referred to a _palazzo_ of the Moro family as "the House of Othello." In the year 1844 the German painter Friedrich Nehrlich painted this house and as a pendant of it also a little _palazzo_ with two windows which he designated in jest as the "House of Desdemona." From that time on the little _palazzo_ became the _Casa di Desdemona_, and when the painter tried to explain the facts he was beaten up for his trouble.[76]

For Feuchtwanger, an academic historian and a renowned historical novelist himself, the critical faculty of the researcher is of the utmost importance. The "Noble Dream" of nineteenth-century historians to produce an exact history was and will remain an illusion, and the attempts by academics and novelists alike to recreate the past amount to acts of interpretation.[77]

Like Vigny, Feuchtwanger recognizes the charm and power of reconstructed facts as opposed to the mundaneness of the raw material, but unlike Vigny, the exiled German writer sees it the duty of the historical novelist to scrutinize the popular and often completely false myths that make up large parts of our national histories. He draws thus a very distinct line between popular and serious historical fiction. As mentioned above, Maigron and Lukács both showed their disapproval of so-called vulgar historical novels. In Maigron's view, the vulgarities of Dumas, for example, were part of the process of the evolutionary extinction of the dinosaur-genre, a process that was caused by the excesses of sensational themes inherent in historical subject matter. Lukács naturally related the sensational type of literature directly to harmful ideological tendencies in capitalist society, but Feuchtwanger makes the more plausible suggestion that light entertainment based on violence, suspense, and romance is a fact of popular life. He also observes that ninety-eight percent of novels of historical content are of this "trashy" kind with their mixture of kitsch and scant scholarship and that Alexander Dumas is the most famous practitioner of the popular kind.[78]

The very trait that Sir Herbert Butterfield heralded in

Dumas´ writing, the masterful plot, is what Feuchtwanger identifies as the main culprit. Although the prerequisite for a historical novel is a "solid plot," the serious variant of the genre should have more to offer, he suggests.[79] The implication is that exciting stories have an enormous power over the uncritical mind, and as in Don Quixote´s case, the romances will persist over reality and thus pollute the image of true history. Feuchtwanger´s moral attitude to historical fiction differs in one essential way from those of Maigron, Butterfield, and Cam, however, in that the latter three critics consider the historical novel as a gateway to knowing the past, whereas Feuchtwanger, like Lukács, sees it as an instrument for learning lessons that will enable us to change the course of history. Some of the best representatives of the genuine historical novel are thus Scott´s novels, followed by those of Manzoni, Cooper, Balzac, Pushkin, Charles Reade, Fontane, Charles Kingsley, and Robert Louis Stevenson. As the champion of the genre, Feuchtwanger nominates Scott´s The Fortunes of Nigel and not Butterfield´s favorite Ivanhoe, which to Feuchtwanger is one of Scott´s weakest novels.[80]

Although Feuchtwanger criticizes Lukács for his theory of the rise and fall of the historical novel as a necessary consequence of social changes, his understanding of historical change as a dialectical process and his belief that this process can be conveyed through various literary devices (or conventions) shine through in his analysis of

Scott´s story of Lord Nigel. The descriptions and historical reflections are not just decorous, but "closely bound up with the action and the people." For example, the "changing London of the Stuarts is built up most vividly" by the juxtaposition of the generations (the older undisciplined versus the younger refined). Furthermore, the characters are "real," that is, realistically drawn (except the female characters) with "human weaknesses," and they develop "by means of their experiences."[81] (Compare this with the discussion below of Harry E. Shaw´s assessment of characters that are drawn to reflect historical changes or processes. In Shaw´s opinion, the more historically typical a character is, the less "real" s/he is).

More important than the characters, however, is the "dense historical atmosphere,"[82] the nebulous concept that has been labelled variously by others as "les sentiments et les pensées de la collectivité", "the mental and emotional climate of the place and period," and "la couleur intérieure d´une époque."[83] What is meant by "historical atmosphere," one might suggest, is a combination of the presentation of manners and material conditions unique to a certain epoch and place, and some indication of the milieu being a part of a larger historical context (see chapter II, 3.11). Instead of producing an isolated slice-of-life of another world, the historical novelist is thus expected to show how the manners, thoughts, and environment are products of past history and at the same time the foundation for what is to follow, with an invisible arrow pointing to the present. Hence, Feuchtwanger writes in this context that Scott "is creating history itself."[84]

2.5 A Philosophical Approach (Avrom Fleishman, The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf, 1971).

The idea of gaining historical knowledge through an imaginative reconstruction of men's thoughts is the key principle in R.G. Collingwood's The Idea of History (1946) which serves as the authoritative voice in Fleishman's study. Psychological realism is therefore to Fleishman's mind the distinguishing mark that sets off both the historical novel and history writing from the romance, the latter being defined by its freer play of imagination.[85] For this reason, the origins of the genre under consideration are to be found partly in the realism of the Enlightenment, partly in the regional chronicles by Scott's contemporaries, such as the Irish Maria Edgeworth (to whom Scott felt indebted), the Scottish John Galt (historian) and Jane Porter, and partly in the Gothic novel.[86] Fielding, for example, is designated by Fleishman as a proto-historicist and as "the model of an ideal historian, free of prejudices of traditional historiography."[87] The Gothic novel is the novelistic genre which directly precedes the historical novel as the most popular novel form in England, Europe, and America. With its predominant themes relating to past ages, it made the advent and the ensuing popularity of the historical novel possible. While most other critics point to the differences between the Gothic and the historical novelists, Fleishman directs the reader's attention to the similarities that exist between Horace Walpole, Clara Reeve, and Scott (an influence which Scott himself acknowledged).[88]

Fleishman's definition of the historical novel is close to the portrait analogy and in agreement with his understanding of the mimetic representation of reality. Using Collingwood's metaphor of a web "stretched between certain fixed points" to illustrate a historical reconstruction, he maintains that both the novelist and the historian "fill the gaps in the received data with imaginary threads." By concluding that "it is not in kind but in degree" that the imaginations of the historical novelist and the historian differ[89], he joins ranks with the traditionalists Cam and Butterfield as well as Scott in his role as a critic.

The basic problem with the dot-to-dot theory is the assumption that a work's meaning and form depend solely on the content and placement of the dots (the historical facts) and not on the connecting threads. Fleishman does not explore the idea that the imaginary threads of both history writing and novelistic representation might contain their own internal, poetic truth (as suggested by Vigny and Manzoni) or that they might be encoded with several layers of references unrelated to the data, and consequently might change the readers' interpretation(s) of the historical picture. Although he is familiar with Barthes' perception of historical discourse as explained in Le Degré zéro de l'écriture (in which Barthes refers to the novelist and the historian of the nineteenth century as creators of "un univers autarcique"[90]) and in the essay "Le Discours de l'histoire,"[91] he does not mention Barthes' theory of codes which would have added a different perspective on the problems of historical representation.

The ingredients that go into the making of a historical novel are thus dominated by a kind of realism that depicts the "sentiment de l'existence"[92] or what Isaiah Berlin referred to as the Wirkungszusammenhang, the general pattern of human existence. In order that this "sentiment de l'existence" may be specifically historical, Fleishman furthermore prescribes that the setting should be removed by at least two generations in time from the novelist, and the plot should include a number of historical events in the public sphere and at least one historical character.[93]

In regard to the form of the historical novel, Fleishman joins forces with W.B. Gallie, a philosopher of history, logic, and metaphysics, who maintains that the "chief elements of history" are those found in "the literary story" or, as Fleishman adds, in the "bed-time story": distinct and interesting characters, unusual situations and challenges, a degree of unpredictability, and a dénouement.[94] In addition, the development of the plot should, as Lukács had already suggested, arise specifically from the development of an individual hero, not a "statistically-determinable" type, but a representative hero of "symbolic universality." By drawing Dilthey and other theorists of hermeneutics into the discussion, Fleishman finally closes the circle of his argument:

> [the historical novelist] cannot dramatize the individual without seeing his place in the historical context, and yet cannot approach the latter without a concrete sense of its participating members.[95]

2.6 A Formal/Dialectical Approach (Harry E. Shaw, The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors, 1983).

In his discussion of the historical novel, Shaw has more pointedly than any other critic pitted the Marxist critics against the adherents of the esthetic school. In Shaw's opinion, the former group's admiration of the genre and the latter group's rejection of the same have a lot to do with the nature of the historical novel and its inherent weaknesses. Before reaching his conclusion, Shaw defines the genre by referring to the predominance of a historical milieu which is created by means of a so-called mimetic representation, that is, the result of the merging of two kinds of fictional probability. The first kind of probability involves "fidelity to the external world that a work represents," while the second one depends upon "how consistently a work follows its own internal rules and patterns." For example, Fergus MacIvor in Waverley is a character exhibiting both kinds of probability, whereas Edward Waverley only possesses internal probability.[96]

The historical probability arises, then, when the external probability points to a historical milieu (historical events, characters, and setting) and the internal probability reinforces the over-all historical effect. In the context of self-referential fiction, it is interesting to note Shaw's emphasis on the importance of the internal probability in a historical novel. Rather than serving "self-referential ends..., a novel's internal probability ultimately serves referential ends," that is, it "allows us to see why a work can become more historical...if it arranges individual aspects of the historical record for the sake of demonstrating a larger pattern."[97] When external probability is reduced to a minimum, as in postmodernist fiction, the historical references strengthen the internal pattern of the manufactured work and not the larger historical pattern.

Shaw differs from Fleishman and Lukács by ascribing little importance to the historicist element (in its limited sense) in historical fiction. The historical novelist need not to stress the idea of "history as a shaping force" (Fleishman's phrase) or seeing "the present as history" (Hegel's phrase), but rather to assert "the past as past" (Shaw's phrase), the motto of historicism in its broadest sense.[98]

In addition, Shaw has the courage to de-emphasize the alleged cognitive value of historical fiction (cf. Butterfield, Lukács, Cam, and Fleishman, who consider historical fiction a source of historical knowledge). Instead, he stresses the fact that literary works are "in the first instance verbal constructions designed to create certain effects through the disposition of their parts."[99] Consequently, his aim is to identify the various artistic forms in the kind of fiction that contains a high level of historical probability.

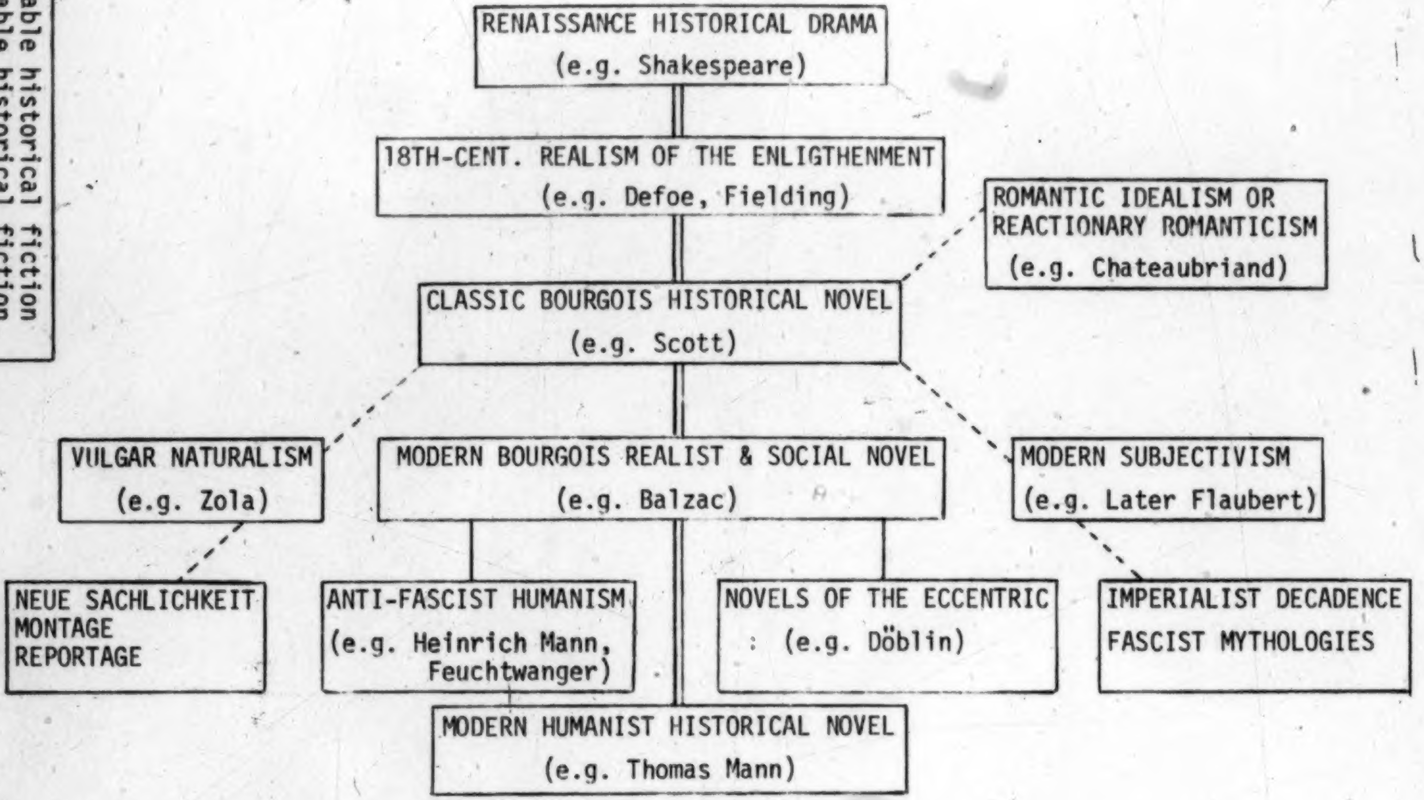
Shaw does agree with Lukács, however, in suggesting that the historical novel does not constitute a unique genre, but that it belongs to the novelistic genre in general and echoes the various forms the novel has possessed since Richardson. Thus, the forms and devices in the "standard historical novel" (beginning with Scott, followed by Balzac, Hugo, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, Tolstoy, Anatole France, and continued by modern writers such as Graves, Prescott, and Yourcenar) parallel those found in the "standard novel" of the nineteenth century.

Moreover, Shaw claims that the dichotomy between the individual and the collective lies at the heart of the historical novel and represents its weakest point. If characters are to represent sections of a society or are to act out conflicts typical of a historical age, as Lukács suggested, the chances are that there will be little space for the development of the "inwardly complex individual" in a historical portrayal.[100] The problem of individuality versus generality is central to the issue of mimesis in the novel, Shaw argues. The exploration of the mental and the spiritual depths of the individual leads paradoxically to themes of universality and the timeless human condition, both of which are prominent themes preferred by the esthetic school. The dealing with representative character, on the other hand, points to the social, historical and "therefore transient and local base" (Aldous Huxley´s phrase) of human existence.[101] In Marxist-biased terms, the historical condition of man, on the contrary, embodies the most essential aspects of his existence, and consequently the realistic and historical novels should cover all levels of human existence. For Shaw, who walks the line between the two camps, Tolstoy´s War and Peace is the one historical novel which "comes closest to capturing the total spectrum of human existence in history" because of its near-perfect balance between the depiction of the individual/universal and the historical/transient.[102] In contrast, many of Scott´s novels, and The Heart of Midlothian in particular, constitute some of the weaker examples with their abundance of what E.M. Forster calls "flat" characters.

Finally, Shaw takes an interesting philosophical stance adopted from Siegfried Kracauer´s speculations on history. Traditionally, historicists believe that although it is impossible to obtain a complete picture of world history, it is possible to produce a nearly complete representation by adding together all data and studies of individual historical events and phenomena. In other words, the totality equals the sum of its components. Kracauer and Shaw not only reject this historicist assumption, but argue that the patterns in "macro realities" are in principle entirely different from the ones in "micro-realities."[103] By applying this rule to historical fiction, Shaw concludes that the typicality dominating a historical macrocosm must necessarily swallow up the potential individual microcosms and vice versa. The reason why so many critics and novelists scorn the idea of using historical characters as protagonists and centre pieces for the action is ultimately related to this issue. Invariably, the historical protagonist will lack a dimension whether s/he is developed inwardly at the expense of historical authenticity or portrayed accurately in historical terms to the exclusion of inner complexity.

CHART 2

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORICAL NOVEL: LUKACS' MODEL


RENAISSANCE HISTORICAL DRAMA
(e.g. Shakespeare)
18TH-CENT. REALISM OF THE ENLIGTHENMENT
(e.g. Defoe, Fielding)
ROMANTIC IDEALISM OR REACTIONARY ROMANTICISM
(e.g. Chateaubriand)
CLASSIC BOURGOIS HISTORICAL NOVEL
(e.g. Scott)
VULGAR NATURALISM
(e.g. Zola)
MODERN BOURGOIS REALIST & SOCIAL NOVEL
(e.g. Balzac)
MODERN SUBJECTIVISM
(e.g. Later Flaubert)
NEUE SACHLICHKEIT
MONTAGE
REPORTAGE
ANTI-FASCIST HUMANISM
(e.g. Heinrich Mann, Feuchtwanger)
NOVELS OF THE ECCENTRIC
(e.g. Döblin)
IMPERIALIST DECADENCE
FASCIST MYTHOLOGIES
MODERN HUMANIST HISTORICAL NOVEL
(e.g. Thomas Mann)

KEY:

═══ Acceptable historical fiction
——— Acceptable historical fiction, but with faults
- - - - - Unacceptable historical fiction

Notes to Appendix

[1] Helen Cam, Historical Novels (London: The Historical Association, 1961), p. 9.

[2] Cam, p. 3.

[3] Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 34.

[4] Cam, p. 14.

[5] Cam, p. 8 (emphasis added).

[6] Cam, p. 10.

[7] Herbert Butterfield, The Historical Novel: An Essay (Cambridge: The University Press, 1924), pp. 43, 46.

[8] Cam, p. 18.

[9] Marguerite Yourcenar, L´Oeuvre au noir (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), p. 328.

[10] Cam, pp.10, 11, 13.

[11] Isaiah Berlin, "The Concept of Scientific History" in The Nature of Historical Inquiry, ed. Leonard M. Marsak (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), p. 78.

[12] Berlin, p. 62.

[13] Gilles Nélod, Panorama du roman historique (Paris, Bruxelles: Editions Sodi, 1969), p. 17.

[14] Nélod, pp. 19-20.

[15] Lukács, p. 25.

[16] Nélod, p. 50.

[17] Nélod, p. 54.

[18] Nélod, p. 55.

[19] Nélod, p. 463.

[20] Frank Kermode, The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 108.

[21] Harry B. Henderson III, Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. xvi.

[22] Henderson, p. xvi.

[23] Henderson, p. xvii.

[24] Henderson, p. 14.

[25] Henderson, p. 13.

[26] Henderson, p. 270.

[27] Henderson, p. 285.

[28] Henderson, p. 51.

[29] Henderson, pp. 13, 52.

[30] Henderson, pp. 182-83.

[31] Louis Maigron, Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique: Essai sur l'influence de Walter Scott, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1912), pp. 27-28.

[32] Maigron, p. 22.

[33] Maigron, p. 208.

[34] Maigron, p. 40 (emphasis added).

[35] Maigron, pp. 40-41 (emphasis added).

[36] Maigron, p. 45

[37] Maigron, pp. 227-30.

[38] Maigron, pp. 208-12.

[39] Maigron, p. 213.

[40] Lukács, p. 204.

[41] Butterfield, pp. 28-29.

[42] Butterfield, p. 26.

[43] Butterfield, p. 3.

[44] Butterfield, p. 9.

[45] Butterfield, p. 24 (emphasis added).

[46] Butterfield, p. 5.

[47] Butterfield, p. 27.

[48] Butterfield, pp. 43-46.

[49] Butterfield, pp. 47-50.

[50] Butterfield, pp. 50-56.

[51] Butterfield, pp. 56-60.

[52] Lukács, p. 299.

[53] Lion Feuchtwanger, The House of Desdemona or The Laurels and Limitations of Historical Fiction, tr. Harold A. Basilius (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), p. 36.

[54] Nélod, p. 95.

[55] Butterfield, p. 64.

[56] Butterfield, p. 2.

[57] Butterfield, pp. 81-93.

[58] Butterfield, pp. 112-13.

[59] Lukács, p. 11.

[60] Lukács, p. 18.

[61] Lukács, p. 67.

[62] Lukács, pp. 332, 59.

[63] Lukács, p. 69.

[64] Lukács, p. 200.

[65] Lukács, pp. 180-82.

[66] Lukács, p. 416.

[67] Lukács, p. 416.

[68] Lukács, pp. 342-45.

[69] Lukács, p. 345.

[70] Lukács, p. 76.

[71] Lukács, p. 293.

[72] Lukács, p. 44.

[73] Lukács, p. 149.

[74] G.W.F. Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of World History. Introduction: Reason in History, tr. H.B. Nisbet, intro. D. Forbes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 82-86.

[75] Lukács, p. 40.

[76] Feuchtwanger, pp. 13-14.

[77] Feuchtwanger, p. 18.

[78] Feuchtwanger, p. 25.

[79] Feuchtwanger, p. 40.

[80] Feuchtwanger, p. 50.

[81] Feuchtwanger, pp. 53-54.

[82] Feuchtwanger, p. 57.

[83] Maigron, p.40; Cam, p.8; and Nélod, p.54.

[84] Feuchtwanger, p. 57.

[85] Fleishman, p. 20.

[86] Fleishman, p. 22. For Scott's thoughts on M. Edgeworth, see his General Preface (1829) to Waverley, p. 523.

[87] Fleishman, p. 18, n. 3.

[88] Fleishman, p. 21.

[89] Fleishman, p. 6.

[90] Roland Barthes, Le Dégré zéro de l'écriture (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1953), p. 45.

[91] Fleishman, p. 16.

[92] Fleishman, p. 4.

[93] Fleishman, p. 3.

[94] Fleishman, p. 9.

[95] Fleishman, pp. 11-12.

[96] Harry E. Shaw, The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 20-21.

[97] Shaw, pp. 20-21.

[98] Shaw, p. 26.

[99] Shaw, p. 29.

[100] Shaw, p. 49.

[101] Shaw, p. 33.

[102] Shaw, p. 119.

[103] Shaw, p. 47.